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Movement for the masses : an inter-disciplinary study of the performance of marching

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MOVEMENT FOR THE MASSES:

AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY STUDY OF THE PERFORMANCE OF MARCHING

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ABSTRACT

MOVEMENT FOR THE MASSES:
AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY STUDY OF THE PERFORMANCE OF MARCHING

The author, coming from a background of theater and dance before enlisting in the United States Army, assets that marching is not an exercise in homogenization, but rather an expression of individuality. Marching's perceived functions of building teamwork and discipline are expanded to show how marching actually defines the military cultural identify.

As a form of performance, the distinction between functional marching and performance marching is made. Further analysis reveals the performance values of marching, as well as the reactions it evokes from both performer and audience. Specific examples of marching movement represented in the mass media and their underlying motivations are explored—from musical comedies to Nazi propaganda film—marching is used not to move troops, but to move audiences. Finally, the author shows how the body movements and choreographic elements of marching have been appropriated into our popular culture, thus exposing the pervasiveness of the movement.

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The completion of this thesis, and ultimately my degree, would not have been possible without the dedication, commitment and support of many people. I wish to offer special words of gratitude to some of them here. First, I wish to thank Professor Mina Garmen for teaching me how to see all movements as source material for dance. To Dr. David Khan, I thank you for keeping me focused on the logic of my arguments. Dr. Karl Toepfer always offered his time and thoughts enthusiastically and freely. I want to thank Dr. Robert Jenkins for playing the role of "Drill Sergeant" throughout all of my various revisions. He pushed me to create a work I can really be proud of. To Sergeant First Class Marcus Montoya, a thousand waves of appreciation for being my sounding board. And finally, thank you to my friends and family who really did go through this with me. I feel lucky to have been a graduate student in the Department of Theater Arts at San Jose University. I will continue to benefit from this course of study in all the years to come.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Marching, the left-right-left execution of footsteps, is arguably a common experience. Who has not had the opportunity to watch a parade or witness a high school marching band? At this moment, millions of people worldwide serve in military units in which marching is an everyday occurrence, both from viewing and participating perspectives. Marching is not only common, it is commonly watched. Recently, I stood in line with other spectators—families with young children, other single adults male and female, retired military types (gray hair and Veteran baseball caps giving their identities away), and active military personnel (marked with buzzed hair and pressed uniforms) to watch a "marching presentation." The Silent Drill Team from the Presidio, Monterey, California had arrived in San Francisco to participate in Fleet Week. In brief, Fleet Week is a United States Navy exercise of public relations. Every year for seven days in September, warships dock, tours begin, and recruiters flex muscles while providing information. As part of the entertainment, the Navy's famous Blue Angels fly incredible and incredibly loud near-miss patterns over the city, and the Monterey Silent Drill Team performs a "marching presentation."

Fifteen minutes before what is billed on the poster as a "crowd favorite," the outdoor square of approximately 30-yards long and 20-yards wide is surrounded by onlookers. Video cameras extend above the mass of heads, supported by the arms of

owners hoping to get a good shot. Fathers put toddlers on their shoulders, an envious vantage point. The rest of us squirm and position ourselves trying not to block anyone else while not being blocked ourselves. It is extraordinary that all of this fuss and preparation is to watch some "common" marching.

The drill team performs rehearsed and perfected marching steps and maneuvers without anyone calling out counts or directions. The group of about twenty individuals, outfitted in Marine dress blues, move in lines and intricate crisscross patterns flawlessly. A leader begins the group with a command "*ready, MARCH*" in the opening formation. From then on, the group maintains a steady rhythm by keeping the count active silently and individually in their heads. Only the swishing of pant legs and the dull thudding of shoes on the platform can be heard among the occasional "oohs and ahhhs" from the audience. The executed marching steps are deliberate, precise and, judging by the raucous applause of the audience, riveting.

> Marching maneuvers provide a splendid form of mass exhibition. The movements, involving rhythmically swinging arms and legs, the steady tramp of feet, and the formation of geometric figures, are always attractive and, if large groups are used, very impressive.
> (Staley 3)

> Through marching maneuvers, one can present a very spectacular demonstration. The effect of well-groomed marching in unison, at proper cadence, with arms swinging in rhythm, executing maneuvers with precision, is extremely impressive. It is normally very well received by the public. (Broer and Wilson v)

On the surface, I like and agree with what Staley and Broer write about a marching presentation. I can still remember the emotional charge I experienced watching the silent drill team execute their routine. My heart rate was elevated, and I had goose

bumps on my arms. As an active member of the United States Army Reserve, I suppose the emotional reaction was partly induced by a sense of pride, identification and community. I was witnessing my fellow military peers astounding and impressing the civilian spectators with their skilled marching. More than just a commanding display, something harder to define was bubbling underneath this attractive surface.

Historian William H. McNeill has delved under that surface to explain why marching is so compelling. In his book Keeping Together in Time—Dance and Drill in Human History, McNeill sets out to discover the reasons behind the same strong emotional reaction he experienced while viewing and participating in marching. His sentiments echo Staley and Broer. An Army veteran, McNeill recounted a sensation of pleasure while marching (drilling) even in extreme weather conditions and under physical stress:

> Words are inadequate to describe the emotion aroused by the prolonged movement in unison that drilling involved. A sense of pervasive well-being is what I recall; more specifically, a strange sense of personal enlargement; a sort of swelling out, becoming bigger than life. (2)

McNeill's analysis of his personal bond to marching involves historical, anthropological and physiological elements. He adds that marching as a subject matter is sorely lacking in diversified analytical discussion and acknowledges the need for much more investigation by historians, sociologists, psychologists, and physiologists (McNeill viii). I propose the subject matter also deserves the attention of theater arts and dance scholars.

I, also, have a strong emotional attachment to marching. In nine hard weeks of Basic Army Training, marching and drilling were the *only* bright spots in an 18 hour day

(not including chow). While in "Boot Camp" I didn't think about why I liked to march, only that I did. I came to my own personal conclusions that (one) it was the *performance* and *performing* aspects of marching that I enjoyed, and (two) it was the *movement* itself that I absolutely loved. When I marched, I experienced freedom and expression. Coming from a background of theater and dance before enlisting, I came to realize that I loved marching because it was a form of performance and dance for me. So if marching can be a performance, then what are the performance characteristics (the performance code) of marching and what are the expressive significations employed? Does the movement alone, apart from costume, scale, historical and narrative contexts, have bodily expressivity that transcends the intended functions of marching?

McNeill sees marching as a cultural glue or thread that has kept societies and civilizations bonded and linked through time. "Muscular bonding" is the human emotional response to moving rhythmically together in dance or drill. According to McNeill, muscular bonding may have been the first critical transformation in communication for evolutionary man, "Assuredly, the emotional solidarity within larger communities, sustained by keeping together in time, would also improve and expand the storage and retrieval of information, simply because larger numbers of individuals would begin to take part in all such information networks" (33). Later, moving rhythmically together became a means of self preservation. When prehistoric man was put into the field in formation and worked under a leader or commander, organized warfare and hunting were born. Working in a formation is a definitive factor that distinguishes primitive warfare (ambushes and skirmishes) from "true" or "organized" warfare

(Ferrill 11). Keeping Together in Time provides many examples to support the theory that the emotional bonding and tactical advantages of marching impacted human evolution from prehistoric man to modern man. The book encompasses studies from chimpanzee behavior to festival village dances to goose-stepping Nazi formations. It is extremely well documented; however, marching and drilling are always presented as facts, as givens. There is no discussion as to what marching actually is. McNeill and others have left out a key part of the analysis.

Researching the significance (or lack thereof) of marching movement from military history sources produces a different result. Typically, marching is cross-referenced with marching formations. Marching formations are then analyzed as they relate to battle strategy, battle efficiency and battle success. The importance of maintaining a strong formation in battle is reflected in the following:

> Inside every army is a crowd struggling to get out, and the strongest fear with which every commander lives—stronger than his fear of defeat or even mutiny—is that of his army reverting to a crowd through some error of his making. . . . Many armies, beginning as crowds, remain crowd-like [sic] throughout their existence. . . . Tactically quite unarticulated, they were vulnerable to the attack of any drilled, determined, homogenous force. . . . The replacement of crowd armies was one of the most important, if complex, processes in European history. (Ferrill 12)

The above reflection does not take into account the movement of marching specifically, which is how commanders were able to keep their members from becoming "crowd-like." Marching movement, as a separate subject unto itself, is discussed only in terms of *military training*.

In the training environment, marching becomes an exercise in conformity and homogenization. Because of modern technology and weaponry, marching in battle is nearly obsolete. But it is still an essential part of military training. The Department of the Army, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies, contains this passage:

> Although the procedures taught in drill today are not normally employed on the battlefield, the objectives accomplished by drill—teamwork, confidence, pride, alertness, attention to detail, esprit de corps and discipline—are just as important to the modern Army as they were to the Continental Army. (Headquarters iv)

This viewpoint of indoctrination is echoed throughout the literature. Just as corporations create a corporate identity using logos, slogans and mission statements, the military creates its own identity using uniforms, jargon and drill. In "Marching to Vietnam," Carol Burke writes, "(D)rill today serves a symbolic function: it erases individuality and inscribes a corporate identity—the movements of individuals indististinguishable from the whole" (424). Groups trained in marching constitute an organized unit while untrained groups constitute a mob (Staley 2). Categorizing marching as a means to an end does not go beyond the conventional thinking that effective marching wins battles and indoctrinates individuals. Again, I assert the thing itself, not the function it serves, deserves its own identity and attention.

The purpose of this paper is a step in that direction. My goal is to thoroughly examine the act of marching from both the inside out and outside in. By focusing on the movement itself and not the perceived function of marching, I predict unique performance attributes will be exposed. My methodology involves multi-disciplinary discussions of performance analysis. I employ performance concepts from dance, theater

and film as platforms for my investigations. By analyzing specific marching sequences from a variety of sources, this thesis will examine how a marching body becomes an aesthetic expression.

Before performance qualities or expressive powers can be discussed, marching movement must first be defined. Marching is an unnatural, prescribed and stylized way of walking and standing. It has a "look" that is immediately recognizable. This distinct "look" of the movement is its performance code. Applying modern dance theory, Chapter II defines the body movements and choreographic elements that make marching a unique movement category. With a defined performance code, it will be possible to discuss how marching appears in different presentations. A variety of march sequences for this project have been selected for analysis. The selections include marches from a Drill and Ceremonies (D&C) competition, elite military units, American musical comedies, the televised funeral of John F. Kennedy, Jr., and Nazi propaganda film. The sequences are not only examples of exciting marching, but they also illustrate how the performance code is manipulated to achieve different aesthetic results. Manipulation of the performance code through choreographic, filming, presentational and other external techniques will show how marching becomes a dominant, pervasive force transcending function, real or perceived. Chapter II will also provide the reader further details of my artistic and military background as they relate to the research.

Chapter III will focus on the process of marching and how it relates to the survival of military culture. This is an insider's perspective based on my own experiences as a performer in marching and drill. Military marching is different, not because of the

movement, but because of its intended audience. From this viewpoint, I assert that marching is not always an exercise in homogenization, but rather an expression of individuality. This chapter analyzes the performance of military marching in formal ceremonies. These performances tell and preserve the military story.

Chapter IV addresses the reflexivity of marches and audiences. What are the signifying practices involved with marches that are used specifically to distinguish "public" performances from "in-house" performances? What happens to the movement once it is recorded for the purpose of mass distribution and entertainment? The chapter also examines how having a designed audience changes the march and how the march influences the audience.

Finally, Chapter V will show how the body movements and choreographic elements of marching and drill have been appropriated in popular culture and popular dance forms. Picture, for instance, cancan dancers with their formations of high kicks, the Rockettes and their precision chorus-line dancing, or country line dancing, where the dancers' main effort is on replicating exactly the movement of those around them. Finally, I will examine how post-modern dancers/choreographers like Pina Bausch and Trisha Brown have integrated some of the signifying practices and antonyms (literally, the "opposites") of marching into the conceptualization and execution of their craft.

Sometimes trying to prove what seems inherently obvious is the most difficult of tasks. I first came up with the idea of this project because I was frustrated in my own inability to explicate what I knew I felt. It was strange to discover that even though the feat of marching has been appreciated, it has never really been articulated. Marching as a

subject of performance analysis has arrived. What lies ahead in the following pages is designed to be a beginning. Marching has too much to "say" to be ignored.

CHAPTER II

SIGNIFYING CHARACTERISTICS OF MARCHING: DESIGNING A PERFORMANCE CODE

A definition of performance code

A performance code identifies performance characteristics without critique. Here, it provides a launching point for further discussion.

Marching is an unnatural, prescribed and stylized way of walking and standing. An abstraction of pedestrian stepping, it has a "look" that is immediately recognizable. This "look" is marching's performance code. In "Decontextualization and Performance Analysis," Karl Toepfer defines performance code as the group of signs or signifying practices which migrate across performances because their communicative powers are so strong they function on a cognitive, not a cultural level (152). Toepfer's approach to performance analysis centers on the act in progress. A code does not critique the performance, nor does it try to interpret what the performance is "saying." According to Dr. Toepfer:

> The vast majority of discourse purporting to be about performance insists on situating performance choices within specific historical, cultural or narrative contexts. The result, however, is actually a great deal of discourse about productions, about this or that performance, about "reading" a performance as if it were a self-contained text. (149)

He asserts that the performance code is "anonymous" insofar as it consists of devices that are not linked to any specific cultural or performance context. A performance code

contains an array of elements including but not limited to: physical gesture, bodily movement, vocal gesture, make-up and mask, costume, lighting, scenography, scenographic properties, special effects, sound, music, architecture, and subsidiary elements which bear upon the perception of the performance itself, such as programs, posters, publicity materials and the like (Toepfer, "Decontextualization" 152). What devices or signs make marching recognizable independent of cultural or historical contexts?

The movement of the body, rhythmic and steady, is the dominant element that defines marching's performance code. It is the building block that the other elements of the performance code attach themselves to. Without the movement, there is no march. Trying to define marching movement is a complicated task. It is plausible that there are probably hundreds and maybe thousands of different marches that could be studied, for a kind of marching has been around since prehistoric man first deployed a primitive column and the line (Ferrill 12). An evolution of marching styles throughout history would be an interesting subject, but it is not the focus of this paper. For the purposes of having a launching point of discussion, my performance code is based strictly upon the style of marching I myself have performed.

Background and unique qualifications of the researcher

The author has training in both dance and stage performance as well as military indoctrination. As such, her perspective spans what, on the surface, can be seen as incongruent disciplines.

In Basic Training, I performed marching intended to move troops from point A to point B efficiently. It is the style of marching taught to all new soldiers and carried through all military careers. I refer to this basic style of marching as the no-frills package. I, as well as everyone else in my squad, platoon, company, brigade and division employed this style every single day. Even though I am no longer in training, I can go to any United States Army installation and probably any other U.S. military branch installation and see the same marching I first learned in 1993.

On the very first day of entering Reception Station at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, I began training in the most basic movements of marching. Reception Station is the holding area before a recruit actually begins Basic Training or Boot Camp. From that moment on and for the rest of my military career, I would no longer walk, sit or stand in my own personal way, I would carry and move my body as prescribed by the instructors called Drill Sergeants. We were all told that we were no longer "special" or "unique". In the words of my first Drill Sergeant, "It don't matter what your color, or your religion or your background is—because in the Army— we're all green." For fear of punishment, we learned that you didn't want to be singled out for any reason. After being outfitted in identical uniforms (for the men identical hair cuts), everyone pretty much did look the same. Yet, there was a way one could be singled out from a mass of camouflage almost immediately—marching incorrectly.

When I arrived at the Reception Station, it was the first time in my life to be face to face with a Drill Sergeant. He did not look very different from the man pictured in Figure 1. I was nervous and disoriented. The minute I arrived my personal belongings

were taken away, and I was ushered through a physical, shots, administration work and uniform fittings in a day and a half. I probably had a total of four hours of sleep, and while I was being ushered from place to place, it was impossible to guess what was going to happen next. I felt like I was in the hands of some huge machine, and the only way out was on the other side of nine weeks of hard training. Therefore, it was my mission to get everything right the first time and to not "stand out."

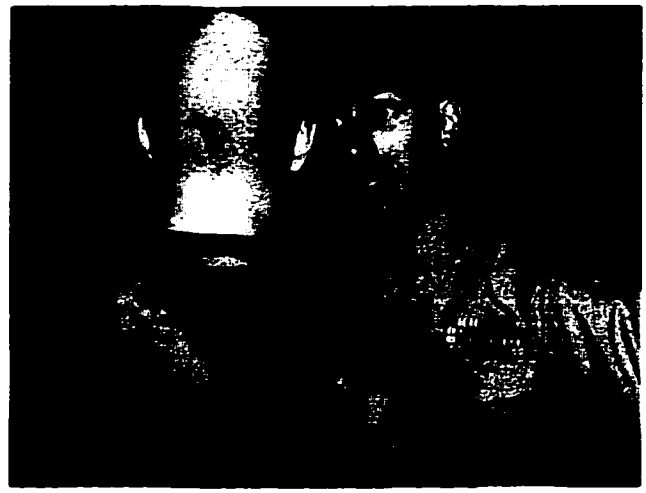


Figure 1. A Drill Sergeant gives "corrections" to a new recruit. Green, The United States Marine Corps (Mankato: Capstone Press, 1998) 22.

Eventually, the inspiration to be accurate in marching changed. No longer a source of anxiety, marching became a source of pride. One wanted to be in the platoon that marched the best. Drill and Ceremony competitions are a way one platoon can prove they are more skilled at marching than another. If one platoon marches better than another, the perception is they are a better platoon in all aspects including effectiveness, discipline and readiness. Rivalry is usually friendly, but it can be fierce. The prizes at stake were gaining personal time, doing fewer pushups and being first in the chow line. All three prizes are equally important to a Boot Camp soldier. It is probably through this evolution of motivational forces that I first began enjoying marching as an expressive form of movement. Aside from the aforementioned rewards for being skilled at

marching, I also began to experience emotional pleasure executing the movement as well as an aesthetic pleasure watching it being expertly executed.

Marching had become a form of performance for me. In an environment when all other personal identifiers are stripped away, I relied on marching to feel unique and special again. Once I graduated from Basic Training and gradually earned privileges like receiving off-post passes and wearing civilian clothes, marching and drilling still remained a favorite activity. This profound attachment to the movement is what has pushed me to analyze marching movement. Because of my background in dance performance, training and choreography, as well as theater performance, training and direction, I concluded that marching movement had to be a type of performance. Therefore, it must have a performance code.

Viewing the body as a whole versus segmented parts

Steffi Graf's clenched fists do not tell the whole story.

More than just putting one foot in front of the other, the "look" of marching involves the whole body. Viewing the body as a whole and not as segmented parts is a departure from an Aristolelian approach to analysis. In order to dissect and codify the look of marching, one must first step back and appreciate the totality of the movement that is certainly greater than the sum of its parts.

In Emotional Meaning in Large Body Movements, Marco de Meijer argues that while "the role of facial, vocal, and postural cues in the inference of emotions has been studied in detail, movements involving the *entire body* have been seriously neglected" (34). De Meijer's research focuses on the role of large body movements in connection

with expressive behavior—behavior that is spontaneous and behavior that displays the action resulting from subjective information. For example, de Meijer describes the physical reaction displayed by Steffi Graf after winning a tennis match. In the photo, Graf is seen on her knees with the trunk of the body straight and inclined backwards. Her arms are lifting upward and the fists are clenched. In that still moment, Graf's movements were not set to accomplish a specific goal nor function; rather it was a spontaneous reaction. Her movements were not intended to communicate a specific message. Nevertheless, there is no doubt Graf is experiencing a victorious moment (de Meijer 33). In Figure 2, we see a similar display of emotion. Graf is celebrating a victory at the 1989 U.S. Open against Martina Navratilova. To conclude that Graf is experiencing joy would be impossible if only specific body parts, seen independently from the whole body, were viewed. If we just focused on the fists, we might perceive anger or frustration, and the open mouthed grimace might be viewed as pain. De Meijer asserts that whole body movement, not just separated parts like gestural, facial or vocal exhibitions, is capable of emotional expressivity.

Figure 2. Steffi Graf expresses joy after winning a match. Hilgers, Sports Illustrated Kids: Steffi Graf (New York: Little Brown and Company, 1990) 16.

De Meijer's research points out the significance body movements have played in human social interaction. There are certain speculations that large body movements were

the first means of communication before the facial and vocal channels were developed (de Meijer 3). Historian William McNeill, referenced in the Introduction, also supports this position. However, de Meijer finds large body movements more than just a vestibule for basic communication; he advances the argument by linking full body movement and emotional expressivity.

Whole body movements and emotional expressivity

Evoking emotions in a viewer by simple kinetics.

Studies by Heider and Simmel (1944) revealed that people attributed emotional meaning to moving rectangular forms. In those studies, subjects were asked to record the emotions they experienced while watching rectangular forms on film. The movements were random and not intended to communicate a specific message. The authors concluded that the emotions evoked were a function of the movements or the "kinetic mode" itself (Heider and Simmel, qtd. in de Meijer 3). Studies by Rime corroborated this conclusion. In his 1983 study, there was no difference found between the attributes evoked by moving geometric forms and the same movements performed by human silhouettes. Rime determined, "Thus, we should conclude that movement is, by its physical properties alone, capable of taking on expressive qualities in the eyes of a human observer. . ." (Rime, qtd. in de Meijer 3).

While these studies found emotional reactions associated with locomotive geometric forms, the researchers do not address the movement specifically. The analyses rely on a cause-and-effect relationship by measuring the effects (emotions aroused) generated by stimuli (moving forms). Heider, Simmel and Rime fail to examine what

properties the stimuli employed to cause these reactions. De Meijer fails as well by focusing almost exclusively on emotional reactions and charting paths connecting specific large body movements with specific emotions. The movements are presented as absolutes creating a reality that is measured by predictable emotional responses. Do expressive powers in large body movements exist that go beyond emotional reactions?

Aesthetic values of moving bodies

Human mechanical movement: removing function and purpose can reveal a movement's aesthetic value.

Bauhaus theater practitioner Oskar Schlemmer (1888-1943) had an unfaltering interest in the design of the human body and the formal and mechanical possibilities it embodied (Carlson 252).

> Life has become so mechanized, thanks to machines and a technology which our senses cannot possibly ignore, that we are intensely aware of man as a machine and the body as a mechanism. In art, especially in painting, we are witnessing a search for the roots and sources of all creativity; this grows out of the bankruptcy brought on by excessive refinement. Modern artists long to recover the original, primordial impulses; on the one hand they woke up to the unconscious, unanalyzable elements in the art forms of . . . the Africans, peasants, children, and madmen; on the other hand, they have discovered the opposite extreme in the new mathematics of relativity. (Oskar Schlemmer, qtd. in Lehman and Richardson 149)

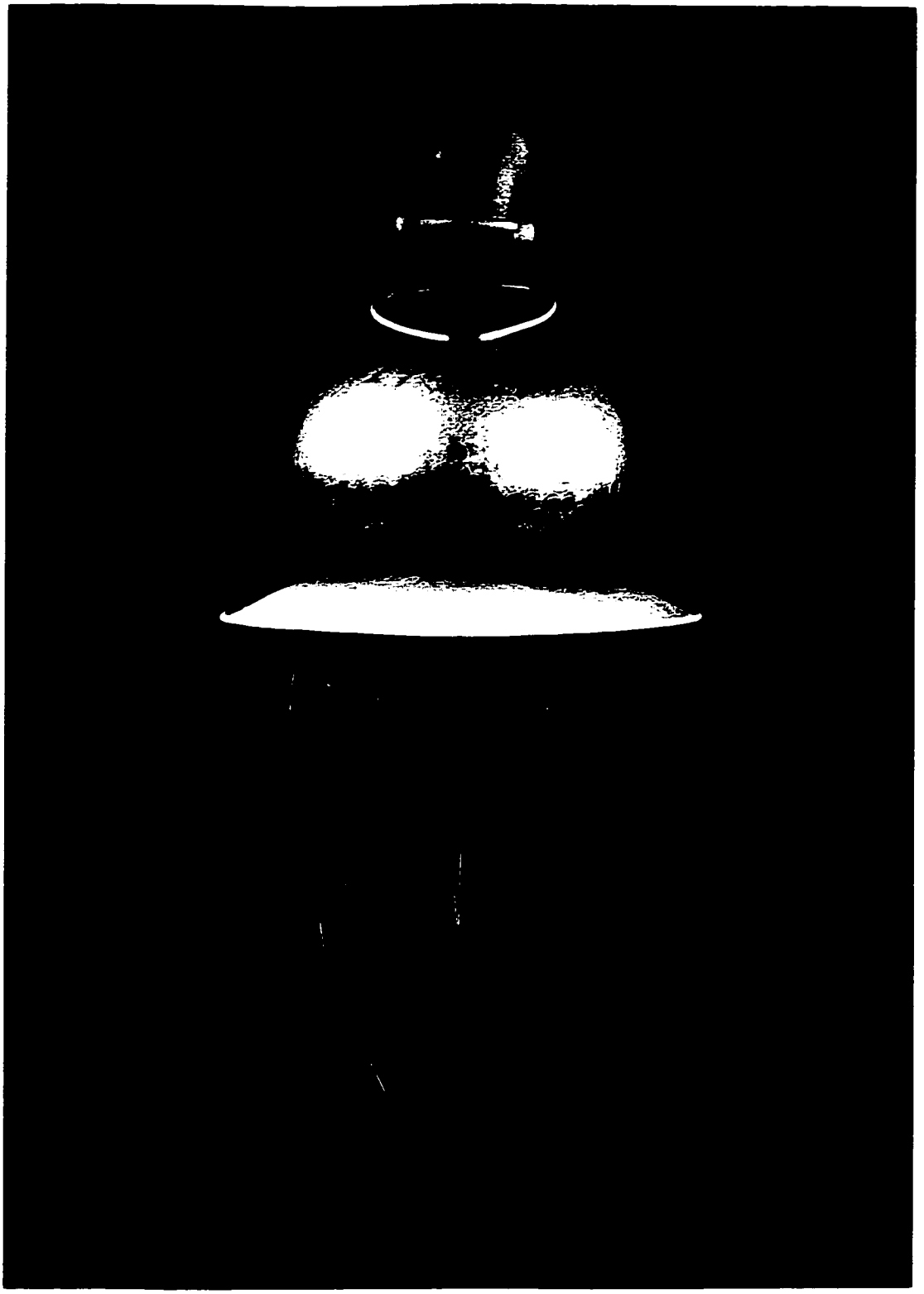
Schlemmer's design of dances, particularly The Triadic Ballet (1922), played with the tension between man as machine and man as the source of creativity. The emphasis on the mechanical was not to dehumanize the dancer, but rather to offer the dancer freedom through the expressive potential inherent in technology (Lehman and Richardson 156). Viewing the human body not as a vehicle of expression but as a vehicle of

structure, Schlemmer used geometric representations of the body to abstract human movement:

> The square of the ribcage,/ the circle of the belly,/ the cylinder of the neck/, the cylinders of the arms and lower thighs,/ the circles of the elbow joints, elbows, knees, shoulder, knuckles,/ the circles of the head, the eyes. (Oskar Schlemmer, qtd. in Lehman and Richardson 130) (Figures 3 and 4)

For Schlemmer, abstraction is the ideal because it gets behind the perceived appearance which is an illusion anyway (Toepfer, 16 Sept. 1996). Schlemmer created performances by humans using geometric shapes, mechanical parts and locomotive ability. The dancers performed movements that were dictated by the costumes but were not specified by means of purpose or intent. The dances were explorations of the dual qualities Schlemmer saw within the moving body—mechanical and human, yet they were characterized as something radical and even dangerous. Schlemmer's dances transcended perceived appearances by removing function and purpose to reveal a movement's aesthetic value. Schlemmer's mechanical dances, which were inspired by human shape and movement, were assigned anti-social characterizations even though the movements had no designated anti-social intentions.

The investigations from these last three sections offer a basic approach for studying marching movement. De Meijer has explained the importance of viewing the entire human body when analyzing human movement. Heider, Simmel, and Rime have demonstrated that movement—kinetic action—can evoke emotional responses. And, Oskar Schlemmer has exposed aesthetic values when movement is abstracted and stripped of intent and function. Therefore, in order to analyze movement, in this case



Figures 3 and 4. Two examples of the mechanized human. Lehman and Richardson, Oskar Schlemmer: The Baltimore Museum of Art (Baltimore: The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1986) 121.

marching movement, and to comprehend its aesthetic value, it is imperative to view the whole body, in motion, and without regard to perceived function or purpose.

Application of modern dance theory to marching

Why we must look at marching in terms of the components of modern dance: design, dynamics, rhythm and motivation.

To be able to discuss marching as a result of movement and not a product of perceived function, a different kind of vocabulary must be applied. This new vocabulary must focus on the movement itself—its qualities, characteristics and nuances. It is crucial to treat the movement as an original and organic subject. For these reasons, I have relied on modern dance theory and its vocabulary. Modern dance pioneers and scholars have created a discipline that is devoted to the purity of movement. Their commitment to understanding the components of movement in dance has inspired not only a new discipline of dance but a new language of dance as well.

> The pioneers in modern dance and their successors recaptured the relation that the primitive has to his body—an intimacy with the muscle tensions of daily movements which had been lost to modern men. This is not at all the ballet dancer's awareness of line, of speed or balance, and dramatic role. It is, rather, an inner sensitivity to every one of the body's parts, to the power of its whole, and to the space in which it carves and designs. (Horst and Russell 17)

Not limited merely to reacquainting the dancer to his body and movements, modern dance seeks to define and articulate the dancer's body and movements.

Choreographer and dance scholar J.L. Hanna writes, that dance has structure, "Human behavior composed of purposeful, intentionally rhythmical, and culturally patterned sequences of nonverbal body movements, other than ordinary motor activities,

the motion having inherent and aesthetic value" (J.L. Hanna, qtd. in de Meijer 63). Hanna is describing something all together different than what de Meijer observed. In the Steffi Graf example, the analysis was on body movement that was spontaneous and without a prescribed function. In contrast to such a physical response to emotion, dance is a combination of movements designed to achieve an aesthetic value.

Modern dance theorists have studied the rudiments of dance movement and have categorized its basic elements. Dancer/teacher/choreographer Doris Humphrey was a pioneer in American modern dance and her book The Art of Making Dances revolutionized the manner in which dance is discussed. Humphrey transposes what the eyes see as extraordinary to what the mouth can describe in ordinary terms. Her words are simple, yet they explain a complicated subject matter. The Art of Making Dances gives dance movement a vocabulary from which dance can be dissected, discussed and designed. According to Humphrey, dance is comprised of four essential elements—design, dynamics, rhythm and motivation (46). The combinations and manipulation of these four elements determine how dance movement is created. Therefore, each element requires separate discussion.

The first element, design, has two aspects—time and space:

> We can speak of design in the sense of static line. That is, a dance can be stopped at any moment and it will have a design in space. Also it can have still moments that are like photographs or drawings. In addition, there is the design in time, which exists through any moving sequence, lasting from a few seconds to a full-length dance. (Humphrey 49)

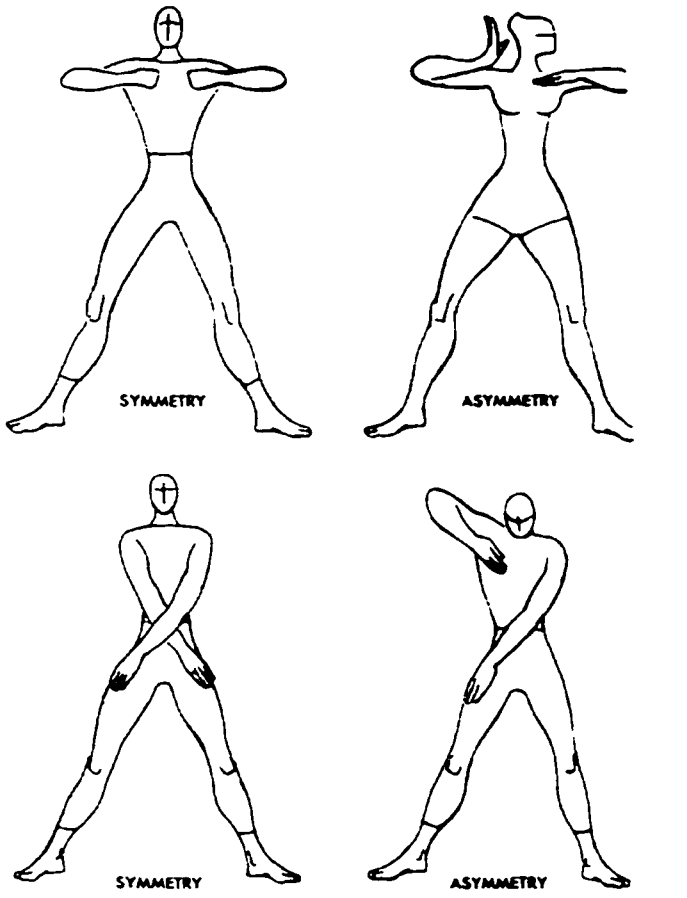


Figure 5. The look of the body in symmetrical and asymmetrical positions. Humphrey. The Art of Making Dances (New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1959) 52.

Design in space can be created by a single body, or two and more bodies. Within spacial design are two categories, symmetrical and asymmetrical (Figure 5). Symmetry has equal parts on each side, and the body looks stable, secure and proportional. Asymmetry is not equally proportional and has the effect of causing the body to look off-centered. Design in space is also the path carved out by the moving body or bodies. Figure 6 shows just a few of the possible paths a moving body can take. It is also important to remember that bodies are three dimensional forms and are thus capable of carving out a three dimensional space.

With regard to design in time, it is not only length in time but how the time is phrased (Figure 7). The shape of the phrase can start at a high intensity and gradually simmer down; start at low intensity build to a climax and resolve; or begin low and continue to build until it ends in a crescendo.

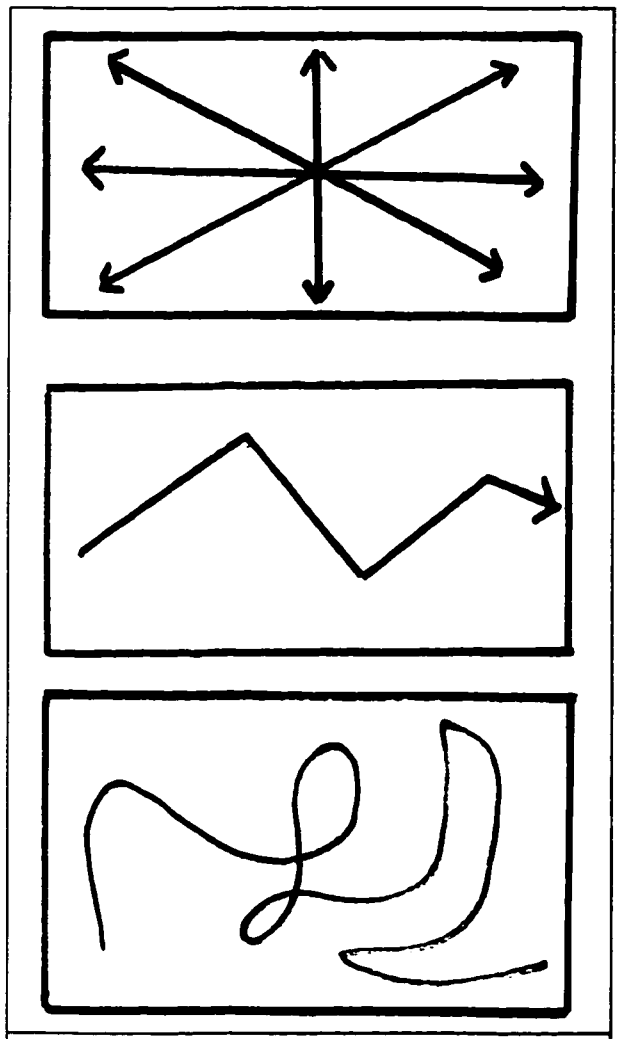


Figure 6. The author's rendition of possible paths in space.

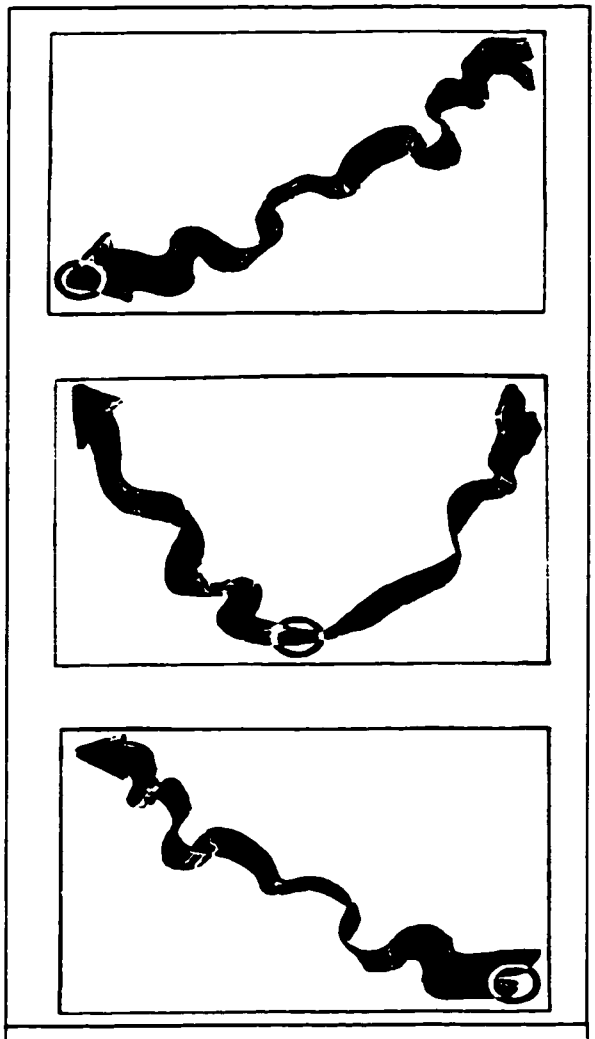


Figure. 7. How a phrase in dance movement might be designed and reflected by an illustration. Humphrey, The Art of Making Dances (New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1959) 69.

Dynamics gives a dance variation. Humphrey sees it as a scale extending from the smoothness of cream to the sharpness of a tack hammer. The whole scale is subject to endless variations in tempo and tension: slow-smooth with force; fast-smooth without tension; fast-sharp with tension (like pistol shots), moderate sharp with little force, slow-

smooth without tension (dreamy, sluggish or despairing) and so forth (Humphrey 97). Typically the more diversity in dynamics, the more complex the dance.

Rhythm is probably the most powerful ingredient in dance. It drives and pulses the movement and the dance. Bay Area renowned dance teacher and choreographer Berle Davis teaches that dance is nothing but rhythm and weight. If you can master perceiving which foot your standing on and how it will move in relation to tempo, you will learn to dance. While there are whole books written on the subject of rhythm, for dance, Humphrey sees four sources of rhythmical organization: the breathing-singing-speaking apparatus which begins low, arcs and recedes; the partly unconscious rhythms of the heartbeat and contraction/relaxation of muscles that is steady and almost unnoticeable; the propelling mechanism, such as legs moving in space and feet lifting and landing; and the emotional rhythm with its surges and ebbs of feelings accenting sporadically up and down (Humphrey 105).

Finally, there is the element of motivation. Every movement in life comes from some kind of motivation, and dance choreographers are extremely conscious of this. Motivation is the source from which the other three elements are derived. Humphrey argues that, "A movement without a motivation is unthinkable. Some force is the cause for change of position, whether it is understandable or not" (110). "Just being" is a motivation even if it is less interesting than others. Design, rhythm, and dynamics will be dependent to the movement's motivation; dances derived from conscious motivation support a wider range of movements than a dance without a clear motivation.

More a choreographer's tool than a guide to analysis, The Art of Making Dances demonstrates how the four elements of dance can be manipulated to create the dances as well as the look of dances. Specific decisions by the choreographer on the body achieve certain qualitative results. The choreographer looks at an individual body and the relation it shares with the space and other bodies. The choreographer designs movement and, through other performance choices, like costume, lighting, music and props, achieves an artistic expression. Because the results are not viewed so much in terms of emotional value but of aesthetic value, a choreographer learns to focus on the "look" of movement and dances.

Marching as a unique performance category

In between the concepts of dance and ordinary motor activity is marching movement. Understanding this can help in designing a performance code specific to marching.

Understanding the four elements of dance and how choreography is engineered allows one to break down movement and analyze its properties. Marching, it can be argued, encompasses the four elements of dance as described by Humphrey. Yet, I do not believe marching can be qualified as dancing. Because it is important to identify the similarities between dancing and marching for the purposes of designing a performance code, it is equally important to identify the differences. A major difference between dancing and marching is in the origins of creation. Modern dance expresses the idea(s) of a choreographer. Not relying on strict narrative techniques like classical ballet, the dance is created from abstracted movements that may or may not convey a specific meaning.

But marching, regardless of its expressive potential, was not originally conceived from the inspiration of artistic ingenuity; it was designed as a practical and functional way to organize troops. This does not imply that marching movement has been confined to these restrictions today. As discussed in the Introduction, the marching presentation during Fleet Week was designed as performance. What this and similar performances say is presented in Chapter III.

Another difference exists in the stability versus instability quality of the movement. In America, the march has changed very little since it was first instructed (Davis 9). The stability of the movement has lasted throughout the ages and shows no signs of disappearing. The endurance of this form keeps the movement stable and recognizable. If one goes to a marching presentation, there are expectations to see a particular movement. Conversely, modern dance seeks to disrupt any stability of movement. By twisting and hurling the body through the dance space, modern dance has the freedom to evolve and continually reinvent itself. Fans of modern dance performances expect to see fresh and innovative movement—to see the unexpected.

Lastly, while marching requires mental and muscular discipline to master the form, it is not a discipline unto itself. It cannot be categorized as a specific technique in the manner of dance with its multiple techniques like ballet, modern, jazz and tap. Modern dance has many recognizable schools of technique, and modern choreographers have been able to develop signature styles—Martha Graham, Jose Limon, and Mark Morris just to name a few. It is appropriate to share the language of dance when discussing marching; however, it is not valid to call marching a form of dance.

On the other hand, while marching was designed for function, it really is not an "ordinary motor activity." For example, consider reaching in the cupboard for a water glass. There are probably thousands of variations one might use to achieve this goal. A person would perform the task naturally for them based on their physical attributes, design of the kitchen and where the cupboard is located. Most people would perform this feat without giving a single thought as to how the body was manipulated to eventually grasp the glass. But as I will describe in detail later, marching movement is not a natural way of walking. Marching requires practice and concentration. It is stylized, coded and prescribed to such an extent that it acquires a singular look. Not falling somewhere in between dance and the other ordinary motor activities that Hanna described, marching occupies a unique performance category.

Characteristics of performance

We cannot fully envision what marching will look like based solely on reading a performance code. A performance must be viewed in action.

The choreographer looks at the movement and the expressivity it creates. Sometimes the results are different than what the choreographer originally imagined. Movement is action. Therefore, it is impossible to know what something is going to look like until it is actually executed. In other words, it has to be performed. In "Performance and Theatricality: the Subject Demystified," Josette Feral defines basic characteristics of performance that transcend its diversity of practices and modes. Of the many, Feral cites three that are essential: (one) the manipulation of the performer's body; (two) the manipulation of space; and (three) the relation that performance establishes between the

artist and the spectators, between the spectators and the work of art, and between the work of art and the artist (171).

In designing a performance code, the elements that comprise the code must be analyzed while the object is in motion. Consequently, the viewer requires a place to focus. Since a performance code is not trying to interpret or read the action, the viewer must be almost naive and without preconceptions. The model mentioned above allows the viewer to find that focus. Feral's model is simple but not simplistic. While her three characteristics are easy to identify, discussing how they are used is complex.

Manipulation of the body is the body made conspicuous. The performer is highly attuned to what the body is doing in action and what the body must do to achieve action. Unlike a painter with a canvas, the performer is the medium. He must work with his body the way a painter would a canvas. He explores it, manipulates it, covers it, moves it, freezes it and isolates it (Feral 171). Performance is a physical accomplishment and cannot be achieved by passive intention. Marching requires considerable manipulation of the body, and the remainder of this chapter is devoted to defining that manipulation.

While I do not want to spend time here discussing Feral's second and third points (these points are thoroughly explored in the remaining chapters), I have to attest that they account for some of the reasoning behind my performance analysis of marching. I think it is impossible to completely isolate the three characteristics from the model. At some point, all three characteristics collide in performance. However, I have done my best to isolate the first—manipulation of the body—to formulate the following performance code.

A performance code for marching

Here are the details of expected movements and characteristics of marching movement.

Illustrations provided in this section were taken from Department of the Army, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies. It is the "how-to" manual that teaches Army Drill and Ceremony. The manual details step-by step actions to be taken to achieve a certain formation. From these descriptions, I extrapolated the specific measurements for items such as marching step size and distances. I also used this manual as a tool for organization and documentation. Through the combination of the manual's descriptions, the choreography theories of modern dance, and my own observations and experiences, the following is the performance code for marching movement to be employed in this analysis.

The Standing Body

Marching movement begins and ends with a standing body. Before the marching step is executed, the body is at *attention* (Figure 8). The body is firm and tall. The legs are straight without locking the knees. The chest is lifted but not pushed out, and the shoulders are square. Heels are

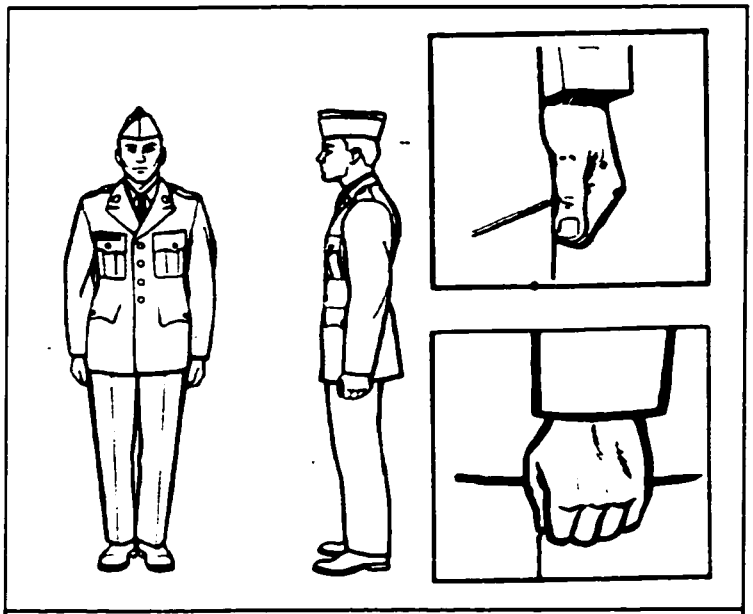


Figure 8. Correct body and hand positions for *attention*. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies (Washington, D.C. 1986) 3-2.

together, and the toes point out equally forming a 45-degree angle. Arms are straight and flat against the sides of the body. The fingers are curled while keeping the thumbs straight along the seams of the trouser leg with first joint of the fingers touching the trouser.

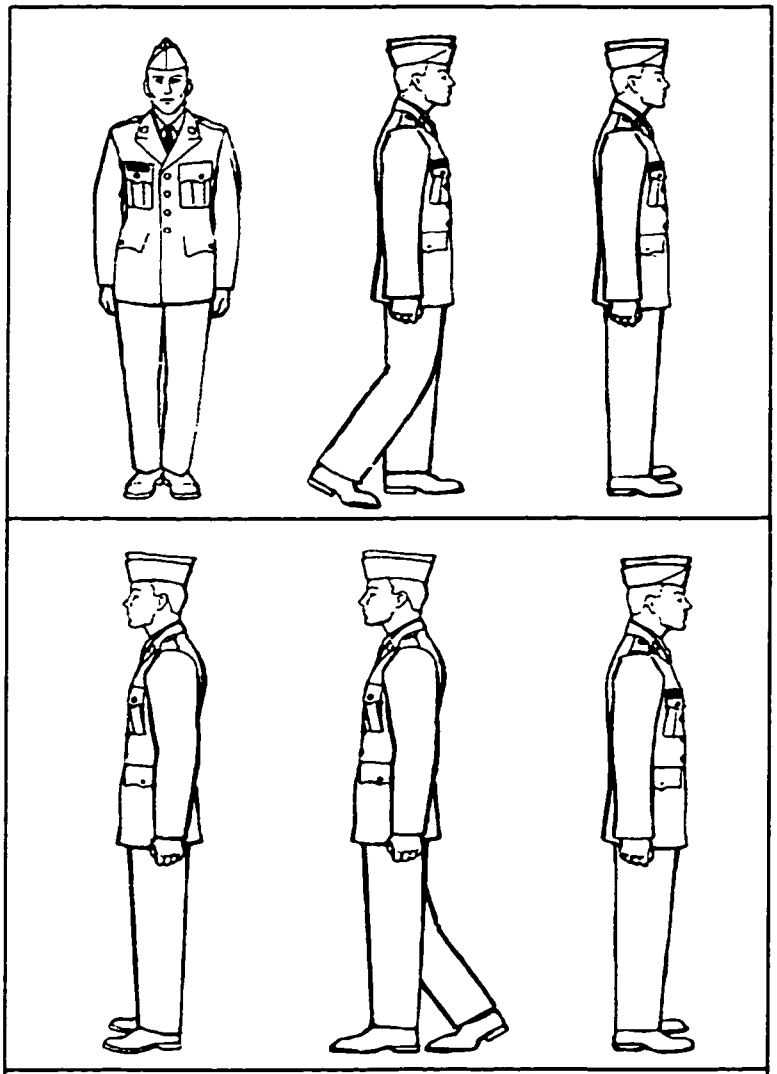


Figure 9. The trunk is erect and the arms remain pinned to the side of the body while executing these moves. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies (Washington, D.C. 1986) 3-4.

From this position, facing movements—*right face*, *left face*, and *about face*—can be executed. Requiring a minimum amount of movement, *right* and *left face* turn the body 90 degrees or one quarter turn to the right or left. The body remains at attention while the feet pivot the body (Figure 9).

About face rotates the body 180 degrees or one-half turn. The body turns by placing the toe of the right foot on the ground about half the length of the foot and slightly left of the left heel. By momentarily shifting the weight from the heel of the left foot to the ball of the right foot, the body can pivot. It is important to keep the arms pressed to

the sides of the body while turning. If not consciously pressed, the arms will swing away from the body. Swinging arms are not only incorrect form, they can also strike the person next in line. During all the facing positions, the feet are the only body parts that do not remain in the at *attention* position.

The Marching Step

Step Size. The size of the step is either a 30-inch or a 15-inch step. Marching forward requires a 30-inch step, unless a *half step* march is called at which a 15-inch step is used. Marching backward and stepping to the right or left requires a 15-inch step.

Unnatural Leading Foot. All marches (except for *right-step march*) are started with the left foot. Research has shown this is in conflict with, "the spontaneous tendency to initiate locomotion with the right leg" (Seltzer, Forsythe and Ward 164). Therefore, it is natural to begin walking on the right foot, and it takes conscious effort to march on the left. Marching on the wrong lead foot is being "out of step." To correct this, execute a *change step*. This is a catch step to put you back in step. It is accomplished by placing the right toe near the heel of the left foot, and in one count, change your weight from the right toe to the left heel.

Height of Foot. The height of the foot above ground is determined by the tempo of the march and the length of the step. The foot can only go as high as to come back down in time with the march and in the proper distance of travel.

Weight on Foot. The amount and placement of weight on the foot is the same as walking. There is no emphasis on placing more or less weight than what is required to change weight from one foot to the other. The marcher should not pound nor tip-toe.

Travel

Direction of Travel. Marching can travel forward, backward, and to either side. Direction of travel can be changed at anytime by the formation leader.

Distance of Travel. There is no minimum or maximum distance requirements. Marching can be done in place and is called *mark time*. In addition to not traveling, there are two other changes in the body while in *mark time*: The arms swing slightly higher both forwards and backwards. Because the legs are not traveling, keeping the same tempo requires raising the knees slightly higher.

Tempo

March Tempo. Standard march tempo is 120 beats per minute.

Phrasing. Phrasing is linear and static without climax.

Formation

When two or more soldiers are marching together it is called a formation. Formation size is determined by the number of soldiers participating. A formation consists of lines and columns. When members are in line, they are numbered from right to left, and when members are in column, they are numbered from front to rear (Figure 10).

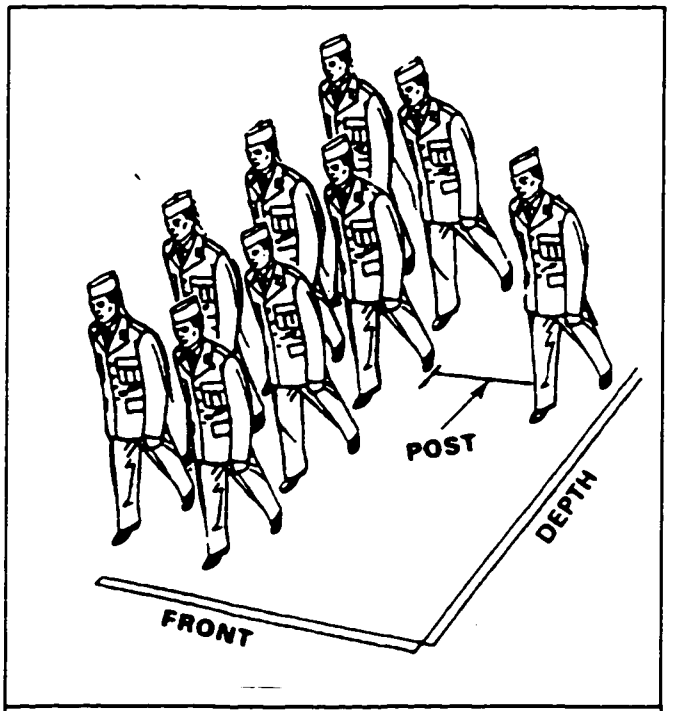


Figure 10. A formation is pictured in three dimensional form. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies (Washington, D.C. 1986) 5-3.

Formation Leader. Every formation must have a leader. The leader marches outside of the first column and positions him/herself in the middle of the column. The formation leader is responsible for setting and maintaining the tempo and calling out any changes of direction.

Distance within a Formation. *Normal interval* marching places each body an arm's length plus one inch away from the other. *Close interval* marching places each body an elbow's length away from the other (Figure 11).

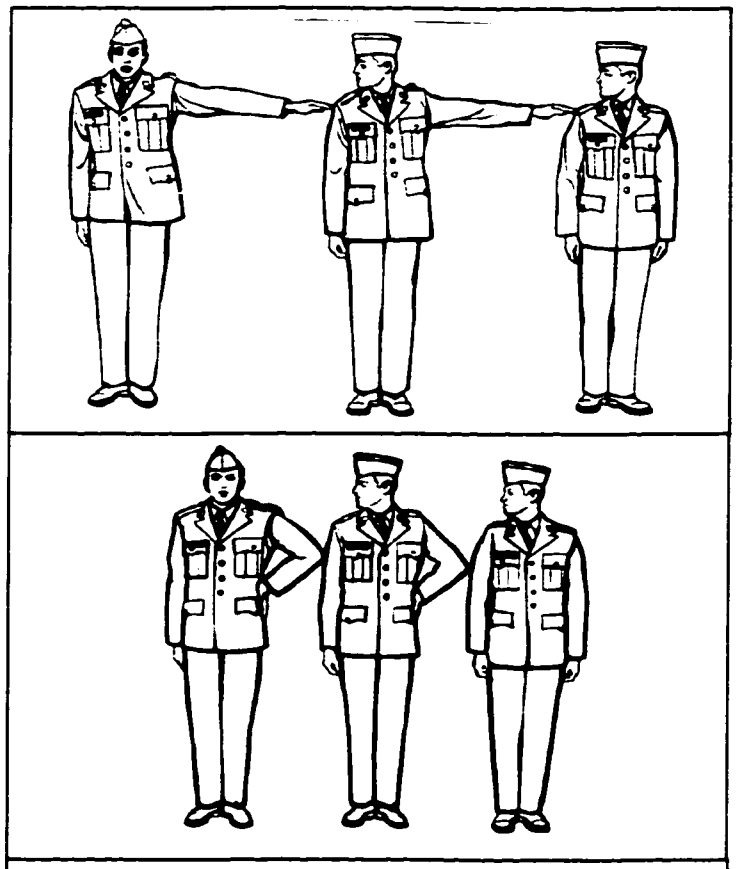


Figure 11. Most formations are marched in normal intervals, but sometimes a close interval march is called. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies (Washington, D.C. 1986) 5-5 and 5-6.

Position of the Body

Head. The head faces and remains forward. Peripheral vision is used to maintain correct distance within a formation. Once a formation has *halted*, head movements are authorized in the *stand at ease*, *at ease* and *at rest* positions.

Arms. Arms hang to the side and swing nine inches to the front and six inches to the rear.

Hands. Hands are slightly curled. The shape resembles the hand at *attention*, but the hand is relaxed.

Trunk. The trunk is in the same alignment as when one is standing with correct posture. Shoulders are relaxed and are in the same vertical line as the hips.

Qualities of the Movement

Rhythmic. Marching keeps a steady rhythm that is maintained by the formation leader. The tempo is even and should not vary. The beats are usually counted in twos or fours and the emphasis is on the down beat.

Dynamic. When the body is moving, the dynamic is moderate and smooth. When the body is beginning or ending movement, the dynamic is fast and sharp.

Brisk. Marching is a brisk-but-not-hurried movement. There is a sense of drive, but it is not rushed.

Planar. Marching moves in the horizontal plane.

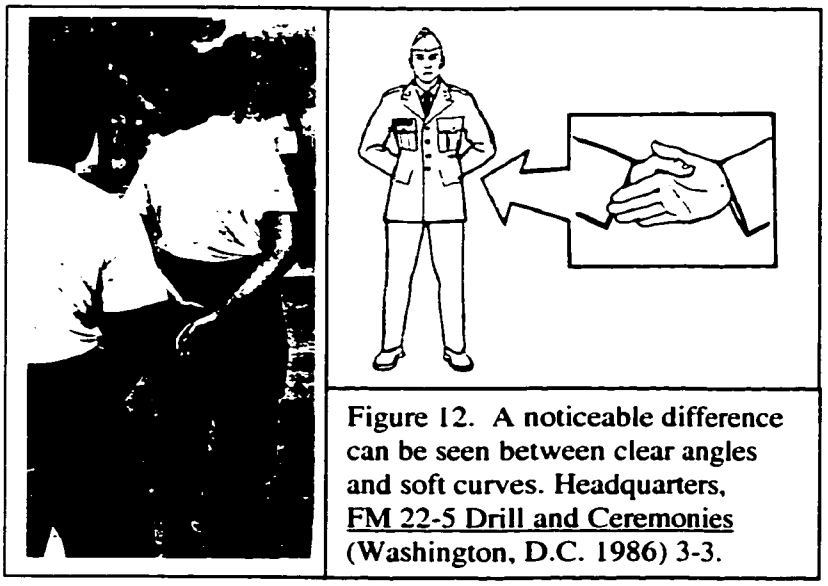


Figure 12. A noticeable difference can be seen between clear angles and soft curves. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies (Washington, D.C. 1986) 3-3.

Angular. Although the legs, arms and trunk are not stiff, they are firm. Movement of the body and limbs create angles in space. Figure 12 shows the same position performed on a relaxed (incorrect) body and on a firm (correct) body.

Spatial. Marching carves out a spatial floor pattern.

Repetitious. There is no maximum number a movement or step can be repeated.

Mechanical. The body and body parts work in a functional manner. Functional defined here means both to get from one place to the other and to do so economically. Direct and without affectation, the body experiences minimum resistance and expends only the amount of energy that is required for the task. The legs, arms and head move independently or in isolation from other body parts. Leg movements do not affect the movement of the arms and do not cause a change in the posture of the trunk. This relationship remains true for the arms and head.

Precise. Body parts and the whole body move only as prescribed. Because the movements are functional, they are quick and sharp as opposed to long and sustained.

Other Properties of Marching

Unison. Members in a formation perform the moments in unison.

Symmetrical. The body and formation move symmetrically. One half of the body or formation should mirror the other.

Requires Instruction. Only a trained instructor can teach marching correctly. Marching is not innate: it must be taught.

No Previous Training Required. It is not necessary to be trained in dance or in music to learn how to march.

Cadence. Most Army marching is done without the aid of music or drums. The Formation Leader maintains tempo and movement executions by calling cadence. Cadence, in commands, means a uniform and rhythmic flow of words. For the squad or

platoon in march, the interval of time is that which allows one step (count) between the preparatory command and the command of execution.

The Command Voice

Voice Control. The loudness of a command is adjusted to the number of marchers in the formation. It is necessary for the voice to have carrying power, but excessive exertion is unnecessary and harmful.

Distinctiveness. Making full use of the lips, tongue and lower jaw allows the formation leader to enunciate clearly.

Inflection. A preparatory command like *right* in *right face* indicates movement. Preparatory commands are pronounced with a rising inflection at a pitch level near the natural speaking voice. The command of execution (*face*) is given in a sharper tone and in a slightly higher pitch than the last syllable of the preparatory command. Figure 13 demonstrates the flow of a preparatory command from a company leader through a platoon leader to a command of execution.

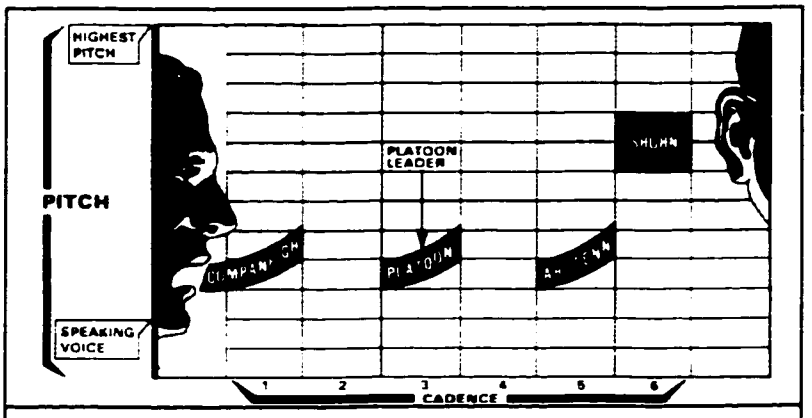


Figure 13. A charted performance analysis of the command voice. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies (Washington, D.C. 1986) 2-6.

Motivation

I already discussed the motivation to learn marching in the second section of this chapter. It is important to consider motivation as part of this performance code because it

is as unique as the movement. The motivation to march well has an impact on the movement which is revealed in the following chapter.

Conclusion

Semiotics teaches us meaning is not inherent in the artifact; it is in the interpreter. In marching, the movement is the artifact and its meaning has been lumped into either a battle tactic or an indoctrination tool. I do not disagree that marching can complete these tasks; I do assert that the argument does not end there. In order to begin that argument, a different kind of language must be employed. This is why I have introduced dance theory and dance terminology. The Army Field Manual tells us how to do the movement but not how to look at the movement. It is imperative to be able to look and discuss marching based on its movement properties. If we can appreciate the movement based on its aesthetic qualities, then we can appreciate the performance values evoked.

Chapter III looks at how marching movement becomes a performance and how it relates to a cultural identity within the military. Marching as an expression of uniqueness will be presented through Drill and Ceremony (D&C) performance. To demonstrate how performance reveals differences seen only through the execution of a performance, I will discuss the significance of drill competitions between platoons. The competitors are equipped with the same set of instructions, same training, same marching field, same number of bodies, and same uniforms. But these competitions do not have the same outcome. Furthermore, I will also address how elite military organizations promote the military way of life through marching performances. Finally, the role of marching as it relates to the relationship between death and culture survival will be presented.

CHAPTER III

THE PERFORMANCE OF MARCHING WITHIN THE MILITARY: A SOURCE OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

The importance of marching in military training cannot be ignored, nor can the function of marching in military culture be underestimated. A military post is a self-contained society. The necessities and diversions of life can be obtained on the premises. If a soldier lives in the barracks, all of his meals and a place to sleep are provided (affectionately referred to as "three hots and a cot"). Married soldiers are allowed individual housing on post with either mess hall privileges or a stipend for meals. All military personnel and their spouses and dependents can shop tax free at the commissary (grocery store) and the post exchange (department store). They also have free access to modern gyms and swimming pools. Most posts have bowling alleys, bars, and movie theaters that charge considerably less than their civilian counterparts. Additionally, military installations provide worship services for several religious denominations.

A post is a mixture of stark surroundings and ample conveniences. To an outsider, life on post might seem dull and over-regimented. It is an image the military probably likes. After all, is not the military life the gold standard of discipline and hardiness? Yet underneath the barren exterior, is a vibrant society that cannot be fully appreciated unless one actually lives on post. I am always reminded of the irony that some of the hardest yet best adventures of my adult life occurred while serving on post.

Aside from the obvious architectural and ground designs of an installation, a military way of life, even in peacetime, is singular. Marching and drilling are a large component of that singularity.

The Department of the Army states the purpose of drill:

- To enable a commander to move his unit from one place to another in an orderly manner.
- To aid in disciplinary training by instilling habits of precision and response to the leader's orders.
- To provide a means, through ceremonies, of enhancing the morale of troops, developing the spirit of cohesion, and presenting traditional, interesting and well-executed military parades.
- To provide for the development of all soldiers in the practice of commanding troops. (Headquarters iii)

Of the above, only point three suggests a connection of marching to sustaining a military culture. As I will discuss later, ceremonial marching and elite military units promote and house the U.S. Army's traditional values of honor and pride. However, the common practice of everyday marching is a pervasive yet overlooked identifier of military life.

Marching becomes a natural way of walking

A habit formed over a lifetime is over-powered within a few weeks of Basic Training.

In my own Basic Training experience, I was surprised how easy it was to forget what it felt like to walk and not march. During most of Basic Training, I did not have the

opportunity to go anywhere by myself. I either moved within a squad of 15, a platoon a 60, or a company of 240. I could scarcely believe the requirement to always march in formation—even if the formation had only two people. It was not until few weeks into training that I had an opportunity to escape this requirement. On one Sunday morning, five of us were returning from chapel call. There were no Drill Sergeants present, and although I wanted to walk with my fellow recruits, I did not want to march with them. I tried to just walk next to the small formation, but I reverted to marching. It took great concentration and physical awareness to maintain my regular walking style. If I did not consciously take my regular steps, I inevitably returned to a rhythmic and left-foot dominated march. I have witnessed this behavior on other military trained individuals as well. It is always fun to walk with them and count how long it takes for everyone to fall into step—consciously or otherwise.

Curiously, I discovered that even though the movement was powerful enough to overtake my natural way of walking, the movement was not powerful enough to hold my attention when viewing it. When I watched other formations move around me, it did not arouse any particular interest. Only when you are not marching do you draw attention. On the training installation, we marched everywhere: to the chow hall, to the classrooms, to the barracks and to the physical training (PT) fields. Even while carrying heavy rucksacks and weapons, we marched good distances to the firing ranges. On post, marching is the dominant method of moving troops from point A to point B. In this capacity, marching serves a functional purpose not intended for special attention. Something, however, changes when the thing, marching, becomes a thing to be viewed.

Functional versus performance marching

The utility of marching shifts from functional to performance when presented for a spectator.

Marching, in and of itself, serves a specific purpose: moving troops efficiently. Marching, when it is done as an affectation of the military culture, becomes something different. This supposition supports a distinction in marching I wish to introduce—*functional marching* and *performance marching*. The previous chapter focused on defining a performance code of marching. The physical, choreographic and aesthetic characteristics that give marching movement its unique look were identified. By applying the code in a theoretical model, one should be able to accurately execute the movement. But what happens when the movement is executed not for function, but for performance?

Placing marching movement in view of a designated spectator transforms functional marching into performance marching. The perceived reality of marching exists in its functional purpose—the execution of movement to move bodies from point A to point B. When the movement is displayed before a spectator, marching becomes a representation of this function. This representation exists not for itself, but for the spectator. The viewer provides a point of view which enables the transformation from reality to representation, or the transformation from functional marching to performance marching.

In "Performing Theory," Maria Minich Brewer says that in theater the distance between theory and practice is a space occupied by "theatricality." Theatricality occurs only as a product of performance and "works both to erase and to reinscribe the relation

of interpretation to contextual and situational frames" (Brewer 14). Likewise, the space between functional marching and performance marching is occupied by the interpretation by the spectator. In a marching performance, the viewer assigns aesthetic values to the movement. This interpretation erases the significance of functional value and replaces it with performance value.

Theatricality exists beyond the stages of theater; it is present in every performance. Josette Feral has defined performance as a physical accomplishment:

> With neither past nor future, performance takes place [sic]. It turns the stage into an event from which the subject will emerge transformed until another performance, when it can continue on its way. As long as performance rejects narrative and representation in this way, it also rejects the symbolic organization dominating theater and exposes the conditions of theatricality as they are. (177)

Theatricality in performance marching is revealed through the point of view of the spectator. The performance values attached to the movement creates a distinction between functional and performance marching. This distinction must exist or there would not be parades and well-attended public marching events. That is to say, if functional marching moves troops, then performance marching moves audiences.

Drill competitions as an expression of uniqueness

Soldiers find individuality while performing seemingly identical movement.

To explicate how such a distinction can be demonstrated, I will expand upon the drill competition introduced in Chapter II. A Drill and Ceremony competition is a qualified source of discussion because the marching in a drill competition is, on the surface, functional marching. The performance code in Chapter II remains intact if

applied to functional and D&C marching. In a competition, a platoon of soldiers is lead by a Drill Sergeant who calls out commands. The commands consist of basic direction and motion changes. The platoon starts from an at *attention* position and executes a specified sequence of standing positions, marches, halts, and facing movements. Although there is more coordination involved when sixty participants turn right or left versus just one, the code essentially remains steady. The movements are not fancy, and they are the same movements a platoon executes during normal exercises. Nevertheless, the movements look different when performed. A platoon marching in a competition may be executing the moments defined by the code. However, the primary function is no longer to maneuver between points A and B—the only goal is to do it better than anyone else.

It is important to note that a platoon does not strive to merely march well; a platoon rehearses marching to *look* better at it than other platoons. As I mentioned, the marching movements in a competition are not difficult. An individual in a platoon is extremely proficient in functional marching by the time he or she enters a competition; therefore, it is highly unlikely a movement will be performed incorrectly. Also, the platoons are able to practice the commands numerous times in the sequence they will be presented in the competition. I recently took part in a drill competition in San Antonio, Texas. As a reservist, I am required to complete two weeks of Annual Training for soldier and career development purposes. In Texas, I did a little of both—I brushed up on my legal specialist proficiency and my soldiering competencies. Throughout the course, our squads were pitted against each other in friendly competitions (academics, confidence

course, weapons qualifications) in order to boost motivation. One such activity in the soldier skills department was a D&C competition. We were a small group, so we competed in five-member squads rather than in platoons. To make things more equal, the instructors chose the more inexperienced soldiers to lead each squad during the competition. (In Basic Training, all soldiers practice marching, while few practice actually calling commands. That is the job of the Drill Sergeant.) As a green Specialist, I was chosen to perform the role of Drill Sergeant, and I called out the commands for my squad. It was the first time I have ever been put in that position of authority. While I was confident in my marching abilities, I discovered sounding off commands was an altogether more difficult skill to master. Nevertheless, I did not make any gross errors during the competition and neither did any members of my squad. I did not, however, feel we were supremely sharp or crisp in our movements. We also lacked a feeling of cohesiveness as I felt a shortage of an intra-personal bond that is usually conveyed through the movement. When it came time for the results of the competition, I was not surprised we did not come in first. In fact, I think we were last place. We did not win because the other squads *looked* better doing the same movements as us. The winning squad did not look better because their uniforms were better pressed or because they were in better physical shape; they looked better because their marching was superior.

The competitions are judged by senior enlisted soldiers. The judges stand at different points around the marching surface and make notations during the performance. While there are categorical items to rate, the ratings really are subjective to how a rater thinks the marching appears. The competition and judging are done at the same time and

are live events, so human biases of what makes marching attractive are a factor in the results. However, when the results are announced, typically the competing platoons are in agreement with the findings. There is a pervasive, unspoken understanding of what exceptional marching looks like.

Dr. Toepfer has defined high aesthetic value to be the degree a performance says something other than intended (Toepfer, 9 Sept. 1996). The theatricality of a D&C competition creates a diversification among supposed equals. The Army says drill marching ensures continuity and uniformity. Yet the competition, which is designed and administered by the Army, seeks to find difference and superiority. In order to be victorious in drill, one must in essence stand out or become an individual. Even though a platoon is comprised of more than one person, it is the collective individual effort of each marcher that creates the winning performance.

Within a training environment, there are other competitions designed to prove which platoon is the best: rifle marksmanship, barracks maintenance, PT scores and common soldier skills testing. The title most revered, however, is highest score in Drill and Ceremony. Brewer and Feral both stress the significance in identifying the relationship between performer and spectator when discussing performance. In the example of drill competition, not only is the performer aware of the spectator, but the performer is also aware he is being appraised by the spectator. The reflexivity of the relationship also contributes to the theatricality of the performance. Acute awareness of a spectator inspires the participants towards a flawless performance. Drilling is a major source of pride and exhilaration within a platoon. These competitions are not exercises

designed to practice a functional skill; they are designed specifically as a method exhibiting and preserving Army tradition and culture. They exist solely for the benefit of active military personnel and are strictly "in-house" performances. While marching movement becomes performance when it is viewed by one of its own members, military marching becomes exceptional when it is performed for those outside the military.

Historical development of Drill and Ceremony in the United States

A Prussian officer used drill training to bring order and discipline—and ultimately, victory—to the rag-tag Colonial Militia during America's War for Independence.

To fully appreciate the marching technique as we know it today, it is helpful to review the history of Drill and Ceremony within the United States Army. America's first army was the Colonial Militia. All free white males between the ages of 16-60 were drafted to serve. Even though they had not voluntarily joined, the earliest members were not paid a salary for their service (Davis 9). Lack of uniforms, money and training made for a sad army indeed. Three years into the American Revolution, General George Washington knew a crises was at hand. He viewed the American troops and realized that they could never hope to beat the well trained British Redcoats in their present state. In an emergency act, General Washington sent Benjamin Franklin to enlist the help of Baron Frederick von Steuben (Headquarters iii).

Baron von Steuben, a former Prussian officer and staff officer of Frederick the Great, is regarded as the man who brought order and discipline to the American Army through drill training. His unique approach of combining Prussian efficiency and French

adroitness lent to his success in organizing the troops. Many of his ideas—forming a company in two ranks at one pace distance, keeping the tallest men in the rear, and dividing a company into platoons—were put in vogue for the first time (Ganoe 54). In 1779, von Steuben wrote the first Army Field Manual, "The Regulations of Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States" (Headquarters iv). A striking correlation to today's manual, von Steuben's manual states:

> He (the soldier) is to stand straight and firm upon his legs, with his head turned to the right so far as to bring the left eye over the waistcoat buttons; the heels two inches apart; the toes turned out; the belly drawn in a little, but without constraint; the breast a little projected; the shoulders square to the front and kept back, the hands hanging down to the sides, with the palms close to the thighs. (Ganoe 56-57)

So great was General Washington's appreciation for von Steuben's efforts, the president issued this order dated June 28, 1782:

> The review of this army by brigades being now completed, the Commander-in-Chief is happy in this opportunity to present his thanks to major general the Baron Steuben, for the indefatigable assiduity and singular attention exhibited in the late inspections and reviews, and for his eminent services in promoting the discipline of the army on all occasions; and at the disposition and pride of corps which seem to be diffused throughout the army. From this spirit of emulation, and a consideration for the amazing contrast between the past and present appearance of the troops, the General anticipates the happiest consequences. . .(Ganoe 82)

Military order and discipline have come far thanks, in part, to von Steuben's influence. One only has to simply compare the first militia's non-uniformed, ambling, stumbling mass to the spotless uniformed, perfected precision marching of the Army's elite ceremonial units.

Ceremonial marching and elite military organizations

Soldiers of the U.S. Army's elite Old Guard must pass auditions, rehearse continuously and be well disciplined before they are allowed to perform.

The U.S. Army's oldest active infantry unit is the 3d Infantry Regiment, The Old Guard. After more than 200 years of continuous service, the Old Guard boasts seven distinct ceremonial units:

- Continental Color Guard which presents national colors (flags) and Old Guard colors.
- Caisson Platoon which accompanies flag draped caskets at military funerals.
- Commander-in-Chief's Guard which demonstrates 18th Century battle tactics.
- Salute Gun Battery which fires volley shots at funerals at Arlington National Cemetery.
- Sentinels at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier which guards the famous tomb.
- Fife and Drum Corps which plays colonial music.
- United States Army Drill Team which performs rifle drill all over the world. ("Specialty Units")

The Old Guard got its name in 1847 during the Mexican War. Marching in front of all other troops before General Winfield Scott, the yet-to-be-named Old Guard led a victory parade held in the newly captured town's square. Today, fifty campaign streamers mark the unit's participation in battles spanning time from the battle of "Fallen Timber" in the late 1700s to Vietnam (Honor and Glory). The primary peace time responsibilities of the Old Guard include escorting the president, foreign dignitaries, high ranking

officials and performing in ceremonies. Passing in review with fixed bayonets is a duty reserved for the Old Guard alone. The soldiers that comprise these seven elite units are handpicked from hundreds of applicants. An infantry soldier first, members of the Old Guard must obtain the highest scores in PT and rifle marksmanship. Securing a spot in any of the groups, however, requires more than excellence in soldiering skills. The best of the best are chosen through an intense audition process.

The most intense audition is for the soldier seeking the honor of serving as a Sentinel at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery. The recruitment page at the website of the Sentinels of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier challenges anyone interested in applying with these three questions: "Are you a well disciplined soldier? Do you have high levels of military bearing? Are you up to the challenge of representing the Army and the United States to the nation and the world?" ("Sentinels: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier") This is how the position is posted today. It was not always this demanding. Originally a civilian watchman was responsible for the security of the tomb. In 1926, a military guard from the Washington Provisional Brigade was posted during the daylight hours. Then, in 1937, the watch was expanded to a 24-hour duty with the Old Guard assuming guardianship in 1948 ("Sentinels: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier"). Since World War II, this unit has been the official escort to the president. However, their most important duty is keeping a 365-days-a-year vigil over the tomb (Honor and Glory). With a tradition rich in valor, honor and duty, the Sentinels of the Tomb expect and accept only the best.

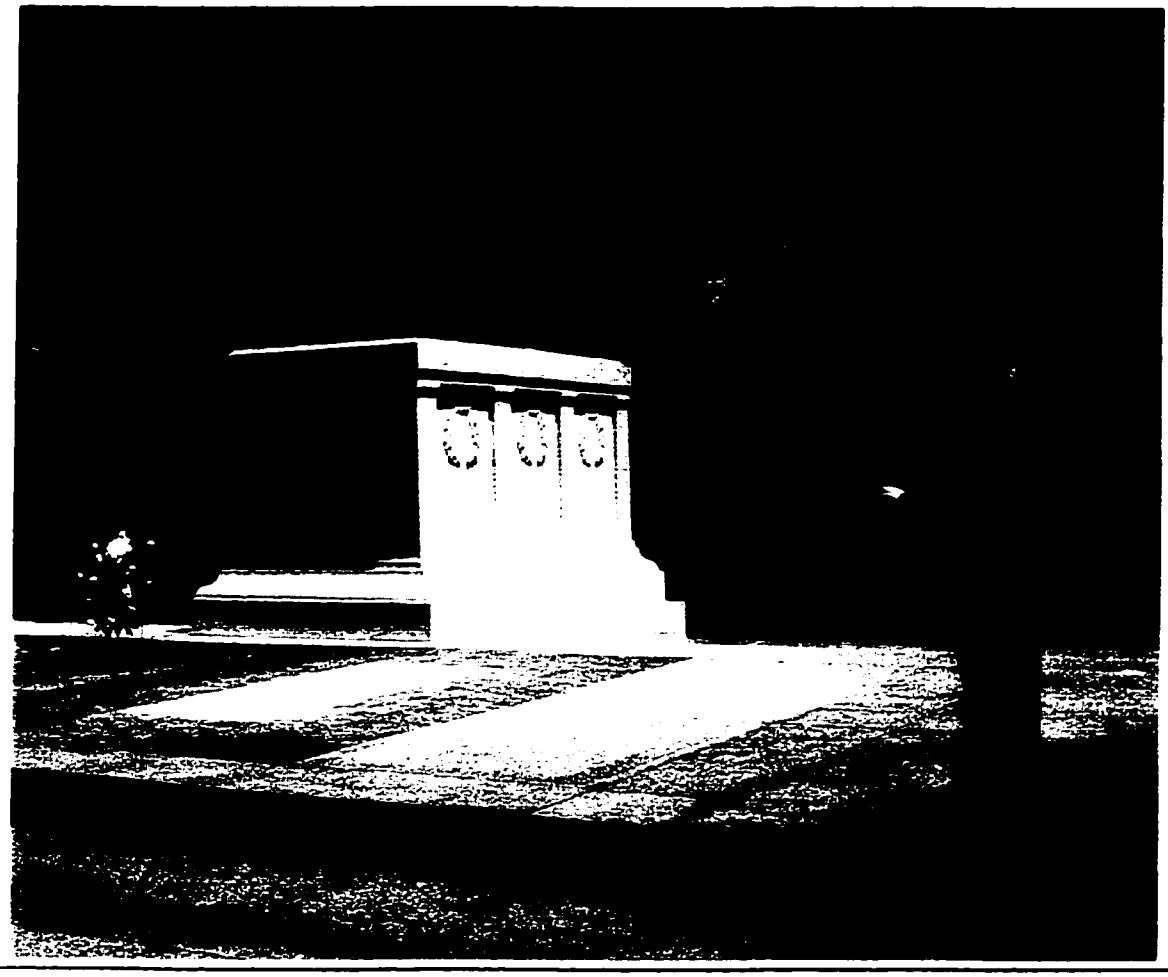


Figure 14. A fit and trim soldier guards the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery. Curran, Beauty of Washington, D.C. (Auburn: LTA Publishing Company, 1992) 24.

Of the *qualified* applicants, less than one-quarter will be accepted into training. The audition process begins before one foot is set in the barracks of the sentinels. A candidate must possess exemplary qualities, to include, no civil convictions, a spotless military record and a stable financial history. There is a height requirement for males ranging from 5-foot-10 to 6-foot-4, and all candidates must be in excellent physical condition which produces a lean figure (Figure 14). After an applicant passes the initial screening, he begins "New Soldier Training." Remember, each applicant is already a

qualified soldier according to Army Regulations. This next step is required only for those wishing to join this elite unit. New Soldier Training concentrates on two subjects—knowledge and military bearing. As part of fulfilling the requirement of knowledge, new sentinels must learn the history of Arlington National Cemetery and the grave locations of more than 158 veterans. This information can be requested by a Training Sergeant at anytime and must be recited verbatim. Training in military bearing is achieved by having to remain cool and responsive when grilled by the Training Sergeants. Military bearing also includes mastering the marching and rifling techniques unique to the unit (Honor and Glory). It takes about eight months of training to earn a "walk." To walk the tomb is the ultimate goal of every applicant, and guardianship is a masterful performance of Drill and Ceremony.

Performance analysis of the guarding of the tomb

A sentinel's walk is a well-scripted, deliberate departure from functional marching. While ostensibly standing guard, the soldier is, in reality, performing.

The sentinel who walks the tomb travels very little. The walkway is exactly 63 ft. across and must be traversed in exactly 21 steps (Honor and Glory). Once the guard crosses the walkway, he turns to face the tomb for 21 seconds, changes shoulders with his rifle, turns again and pauses another 21 seconds before retracing his steps back to the starting point. For the entire shift, this is the sentinel's only duty. The significance of the number 21 is symbolic of the highest salute in the military—the 21-gun salute. This is no ordinary walk or march. It is unmistakably designed and performed for the benefit of those who came to pay respect, and for the preservation of the group's elite status.

The first aspect of the marching movement that strikes the eye is the slow, deliberate placement of the foot. Unlike functional marching, the foot is not dropped to the ground in a rhythmic beat. Rather the foot lands lightly without sound, as if the sentinel was not walking on the earth. The trunk and chest of the body are held exaggeratedly erect, and the arms do not swing naturally. As deliberate as the steps, the arm not carrying the rifle is positioned in the forward, middle and backward positions of its swing. Yet, the moving arm does not look robotic because the swing is not disjointed nor jerky. The only dynamic change of the movement occurs when the guard stops or performs a facing movement. When halted, he places all of his weight on the right foot. This leaves the left foot free, and with a straight leg, the left foot is lifted to the side away from the right leg. Once the left leg is approximately five inches off the ground, it swings back in forcibly. When the two heels smack together, there is a definite "whack." Overall, the movement is far more sustained and smooth than functional marching.

After a shift of walking the tomb, the sentinels perform a change of guard ceremony and a manual of arms which is part of the inspection of arms (Figure 15). According to an unidentified sentinel, it is the "highlight" of the show. Again, the theatricality of the event is for the benefit of the civilian and military spectator. Before the change of guard begins, the commander of the unit stands before the crowd and announces:

> Ladies and Gentlemen, may I have your attention please. I am (name) of the 3d Infantry Regiment United States Army, Commander of the Relief Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers. The ceremony you are about to witness is the changing of the guard. And in keeping with the dignity of the ceremony, it is requested that everyone remain silent and standing.

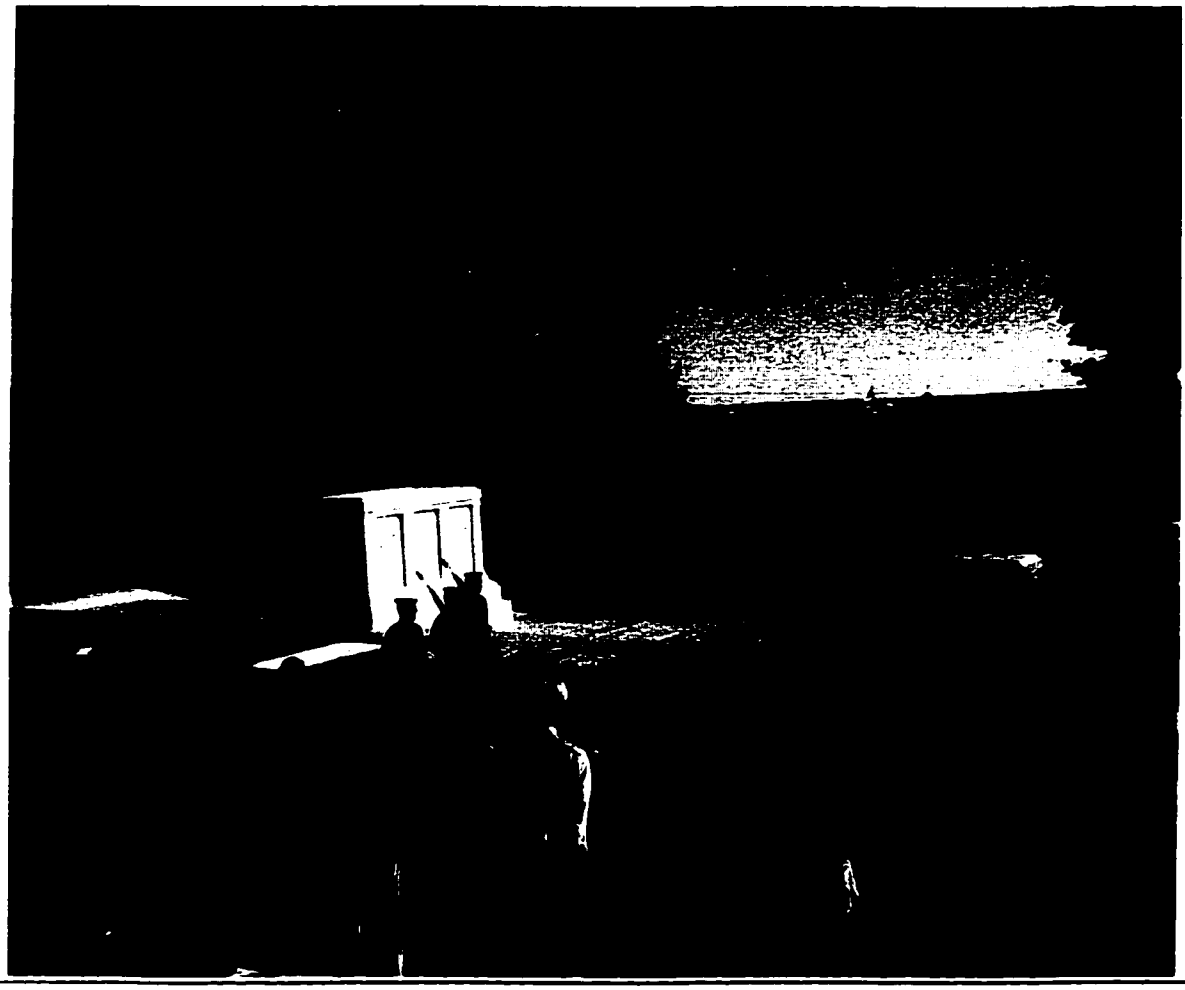


Figure 15. Sentinels of the Tomb perform a change of guard ceremony before an audience. Curran, Beauty of Washington, D.C. (Auburn: LTA Publishing Company, 1992) 25.

There is no doubt the commander means business. While giving the speech, his body is held at the position of *attention* so tightly he appears ready to pounce on the first person to disobey his "request." His face holds a stony expression; the tone of his voice is deep, resonant and even. His speech pattern is sharp and articulated, maybe to mimic the sound of live fire. On the word "tomb," which is drawn out to emphasize the "oooo," there is a diversion from normal pronunciation. At once, his presence is dignified and absolute.

The commander proceeds to inspect the weapon of the retiring sentinel. Even more than the speech, this performance is conscientiously for the benefit of the audience. The functional purpose of a weapons inspection is to assure a soldier is keeping his weapon clean and serviceable. In Basic Training, Drill Sergeants referred to the rifles as our "boyfriends" because of the amount of time we spent together and of the care we bestowed. However during the inspection of weapons at the tomb, the routine is fascinating but obviously inadequate to properly inspect. If the inspection was truly functional, the commander would thoroughly inspect the barrel and chamber for extra rounds. The weapon would be searched for residue, dust and other particles that could cause a misfire. Instead, this inspection is a performance of movements that represent the actions of an inspection.

Figure 16. The correct body position in *port arms*. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies (Washington, D.C. 1986) 4-4.

All or the movements are "done by the numbers" or broken down to perform one action at one time. The handling of the rifle is exact. The commander grabs the weapon from the sentinel who is at *port arms* (Figure 16). The commander flips the weapon on its side, stops, looks down at the weapon, stops, looks straight ahead, stops, flips it on the other side, stops, runs a white-gloved hand over the stock, stops, turns hand over, stops, looks at gloved hand, stops, looks back ahead, stops, places hand back on the stock, stops, and finally in one second flips weapon to port arms in the same instant that it is received

back by the sentinel. All of the above is accomplished without any spoken cues between the commander and the sentinel. Yet, there is communication exchanged through the execution of the movements and the sounds they make. It is as if they are speaking in a kind of Morse code; it is the codified language of the regiment.

The performance of the inspection serves so much more than guarding a grave site. Like the speech he gave, and like the slapping of the heels of the sentinels, the commander executes the accents of the inspection with pauses and slaps on the weapon which reverberates as "whacks." When he moves his head from down to forward, there is a slight up and over action of the head that is clearly affectation. The over-emphasis of particular movements and the well-timed bursts of sound are designed to create theatricality for the audience. As mentioned above regarding height requirements, the physical features of the sentinels contribute to the aesthetic value of the performance. There is nothing detailed in the duty or performance that requires a minimum or maximum height. In fact, sentinels are grouped according to height, and those with the same measurements pull the same duty shift. The lean, trim bodies heighten the awareness of the discipline that is necessary for the duty. Finally, the shared language of sound and movement between the members of the unit reinforce how they are like no other unit in the Army. Though their mission is kept alive through their 16-a-day, and almost 6,000-a-year, performances, the Old Guard actually serves to distinguish the singularity of military life.

All of the ceremonies performed by the Old Guard and the other elite units reinforce the qualities of an ideal soldier—disciplined, trained and dedicated. The

representation of this soldier exemplified in exceptional marching performances clearly helps to promote the military to new prospects. In an interview with one of the sentinels, a private admits he enlisted into the military specifically because of the public ceremonies he watched as a child. It has been demonstrated that marching is an essential component to sustaining and promoting a military way of life. What, then, is the role of marching in a culture when death is part of the job description?

Relationship between marching performances and death

In a culture that requires an oath of death, it is important to show proper respect for those who give the ultimate sacrifice for their country and to ensure stability of the culture.

"The history of mankind is the story of death, or rather the stories of death" (Friedman 65). The military is unique insofar as one of its job requirements is taking an oath of death. During my swearing in, I agreed to fight and defend my country with my life if necessary. Enlistments during peacetime do not dwell on this prospect. Nevertheless, those serving do not dismiss the chance it could happen, and for servicemen and women who have seen combat, they can never forget death exists. This particular requirement creates a unique threat to the culture. As an institution, if the military does not adequately manage the number of deaths in its ranks, it would cease to exist. Yet as a culture, if the military did not adequately manage the impact of death among its members, the society may likewise cease to survive. Marching performances are the cultural stitches that help heal this society.

Anthropologists define cultural performances as the occasions in which a culture or society reflects, defines and dramatizes its collective myths and histories (MacAloon, "Introduction" 1). Coining the term "social drama," Victor Turner, in Liminality and the Performative Genres argues cultural performances portray social drama in a conventional, stylized form as do theatrical presentations (24). Through cultural performances, societies are able to move through the four stages of social drama—breach, crises, redress and outcome (Turner 20). Turner suggests that the performance of social drama is necessary for the continuation of a culture.

Cultural performances can take many forms including ritual, carnival, and spectacle. Of this group, ritual universally involves the passage of persons from one set of normative positions, roles and rules to another. In addition, ritual serves social order and continuity, especially in the wake of death (MacAloon, "Introduction" 3). "Societies regard themselves as on-going systems, and consequently the death of any member threatens their existence. . . The social process of funeral and public mourning is designed, therefore, as restorative of communal equilibrium, order and wholeness" (Friedman 67). The ritual of funeral exists to tame death, to domesticate or socialize death for the survival of a society (Friedman 65). Using Victor Turner's four stages of social drama, I will illustrate how the U.S. Army engages cultural performances to address death through the performance of a military funeral.

Performance analysis of a military funeral

Applying the four stages of social drama to a military funeral: showing the cultural performance process that exists in mourning the fallen through performance marching.

Breach. Being the oldest military branch in America, the Army has exhaustive and extensive rules of conduct and procedures. In addition to the D&C manual that instructs a soldier how to stand and walk, there are regulations governing personal hygiene, personal appearance and personal behavior. These rules are enforced through the "Uniform Code of Military Justice," (UCMJ). For example, it is a punishable offense to ignore a leader's order to get a hair cut because, according the UCMJ, adhering to a normal appearance is important to good order and discipline. These regulations result in uniformity and conformity in the highest degree that are the backbone of this society, and any change or breach in a highly conservative culture can be the cause of a crisis (McCarl 393).

Crisis. "For people everywhere, death is a disruptive force, threatening the collapse of their socially constructed world" (Eicher 38). If the laws of physics could be applied, it might suggest the more constructed a world, the more threatening a collapse. According to Turner, this second phase has the characteristics of a plague:

> It is extremely contagious. Members of a group, whether it be in an African village, an American university department, a trade union local, a church club, or the cabinet of a major nation-state, remember, when crises strikes, previous crises — where they stood then, how they felt about the positions adopted by the other group members; and nonrational considerations become prominent—temperamental hostilities, unconscious sexual attractions, reanimated infantile anxieties, and the like. (23)

The Army could not function if its members reacted in chaos and possibly mutiny. The application of remedial procedures is imperative.

Redress. Every soldier knows that death is an occupational hazard, yet, knowing this does not guarantee a predictable response to death. The redress stage is perhaps the most reflexive phase of social drama. It is when the group bends back upon itself to measure what has been done (Turner 24). Procedures are set to restore order. Ritual, like a funeral, is important because it effects social transition (MacAloon, "Olympic Games" 250). Through a formalized funeral, the military has a rehearsed and repeated process that is also expected. Because a military funeral has been standardized, its repetitive character provides a message of pattern and predictability (Meyerhoff 151). A military funeral is not purposeful in the sense that it can change the future. Its power is derived from having an established performance that dramatizes unseen forces by setting apart the flow of everyday life and framing a segment of it (Meyerhoff 170). A military funeral provides a space to address death, but it also contains the space to provide continuity. The funeral is the outcome of redress.

Outcome. This is the final stage of social drama, the action. Processes mediated by procedures, established ways of doing things, are set in train (Turner 24). The Army sets in train its plan of action. FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies provides the script of an Army funeral, and it details the role and stage directions for all those involved. A full military funeral consists of the following elements:

- Band.
- Escort—appropriate to the grade of the deceased which includes the firing party.

- Colors—referred to the flags carried to distinguish unit, company, corps (Boatner 35).
- Clergy.
- Hearse—or caisson and active pallbearers.
- Honorary pallbearers.
- Personal color—if appropriate.

Immediately following the chapel service, a procession is formed as shown in Figure 17. When all are in place, the escort commander commands *forward, MARCH.* The procession marches slowly at a cadence of 100 beats per minute. As the procession approaches the grave, the elements move directly to their pre-designated positions. The band and military escort are formed in line and in view of the next of kin. The firing party is positioned so that it fires over the grave and in view of the next of kin (Figure 18).

The procession is halted and the casket is removed from the hearse. The escort commander commands *present, ARMS.* Commonly known as a salute, the command is executed depending on the uniform of the soldier (head cover, glasses) and if he is carrying equipment (rifle, colors). The band renders honors, if appropriate, followed by a hymn. At the first note of the hymn, the active pallbearers remove the casket from the hearse.

The active pallbearers bearing the casket follow the chaplain and the cemetery official through the ranks of honorary pallbearers. As soon as the casket has passed, the honorary pallbearers *face* toward the grave and follow the casket in a column of twos,

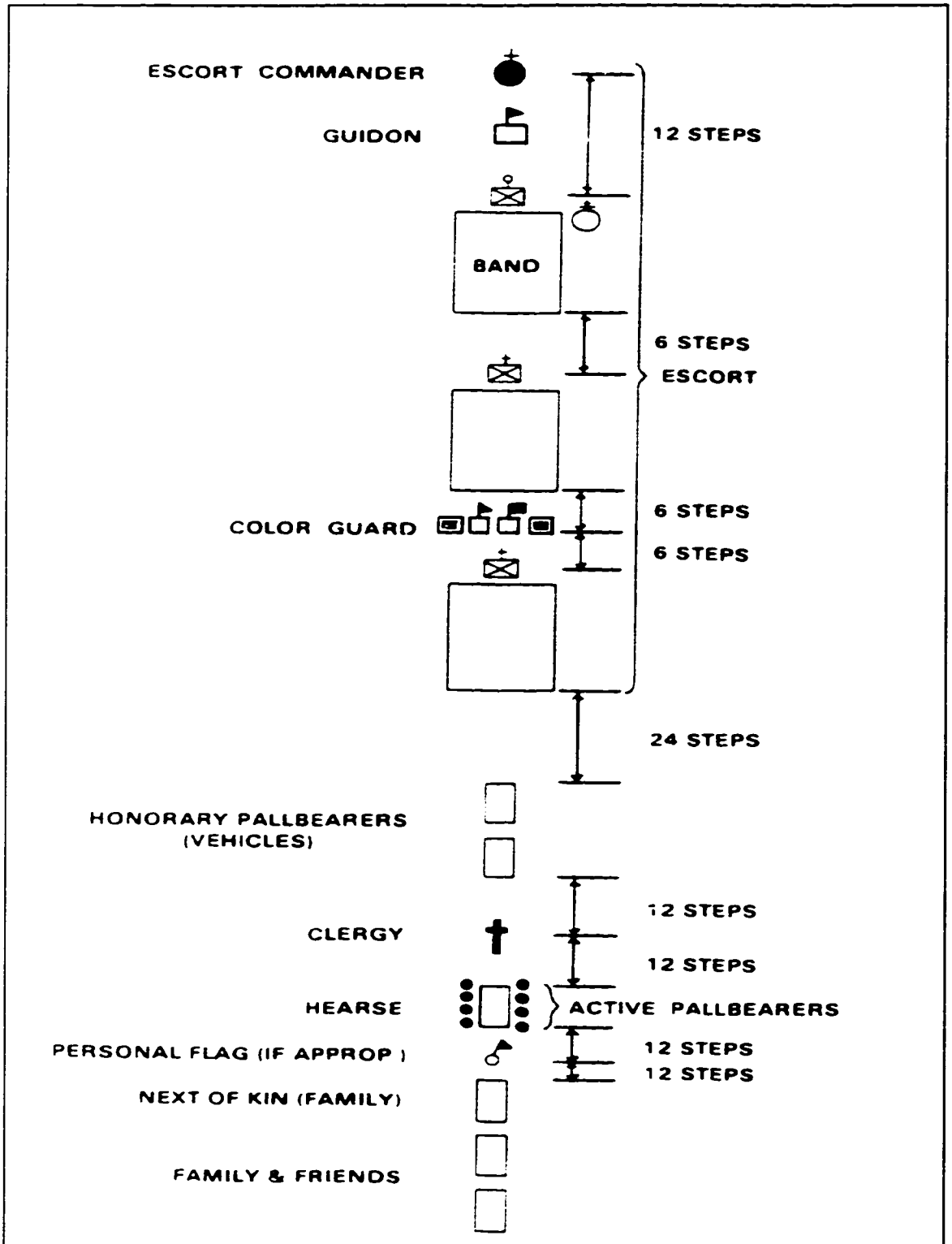


Figure 17. The order and placement of participants in a military funeral procession. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies (Washington, D.C. 1986) 9-48.

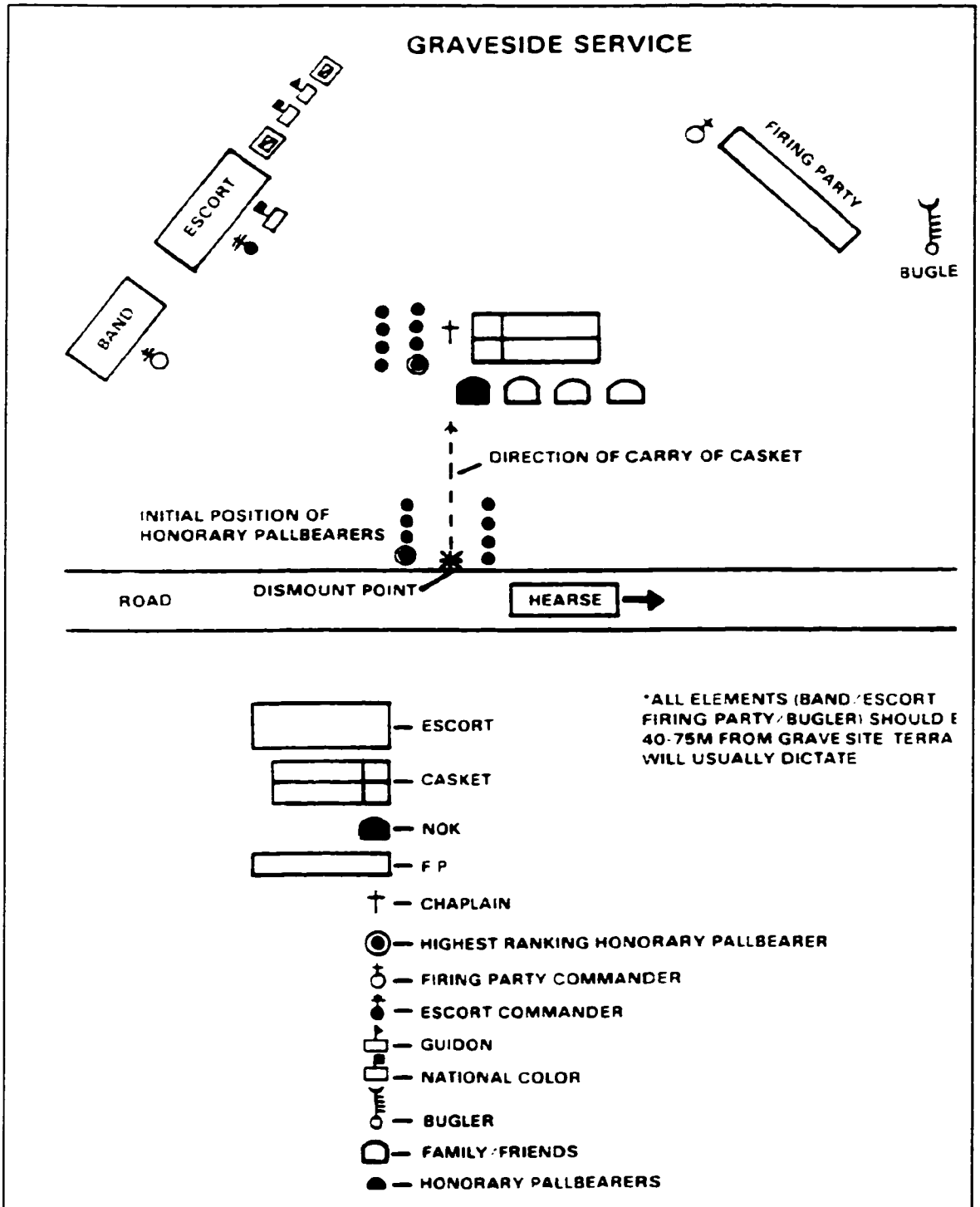


Figure 18. Military personnel surround the graveside. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies (Washington, D.C. 1986) 9-51.

followed by personal colors, the family and friends. The active pallbearers, on reaching the grave, place the casket on the lowering device and remain in place *facing* the casket. Honorary pallbearers move to a predetermined position near the grave. Active pallbearers lift the flag from the casket and hold it in a horizontal position, waist high, until the conclusion of "Taps."

Originally used to signal the end of a day's activities, "Taps" was apparently first played in connection with military funerals during the Peninsular Campaign in 1862. During the battle, a soldier was buried when the battery occupied an advanced position hidden in the woods. It was deemed unsafe to fire the customary three volleys over the grave on account of the proximity of the enemy. The commanding officer ordered the playing of "Taps" as a substitute (Boatner 41). The literature is unclear as to why this innovation was adopted as part of the regular ritual. Perhaps it is a metaphor that suggests that just as there is always another day after sunset, so there is always another day after a death.

When the casket has been placed over the grave, the band ceases playing, and the escort commander commands *order, ARMS, parade, REST.* Once the escort has been brought to p*arade rest*, the chaplain conducts the grave-side service. At the conclusion of the benediction, he moves two steps to the rear. After the service, the commander commands *escort, present, ARMS; firing party, FIRE THREE VOLLEYS.* The rules for ceremonial firing are in themselves a number of drill commands. The formation position taken by the firing party is shown in Figure 19. The firing party fires three volleys of blank cartridges, assumes the position of *present arms* on command, and remains in this

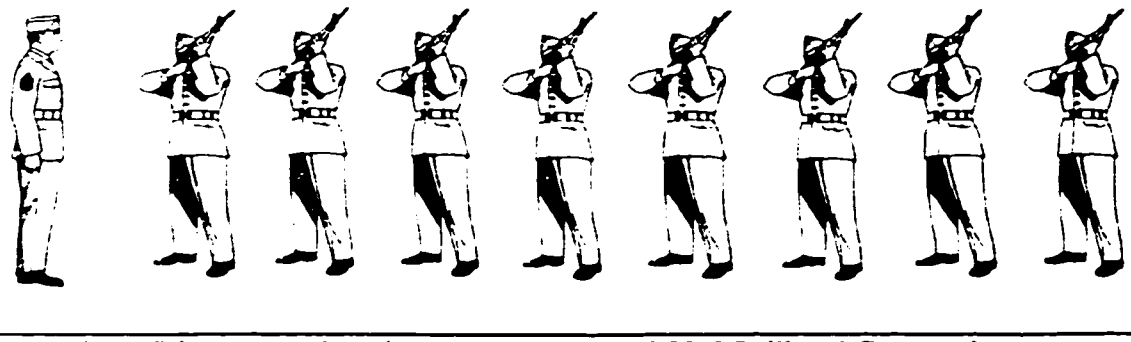


Figure 19. A firing party takes aim. Headquarters, FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies. (Washington, D.C. 1986) 9-57.

position until the conclusion of "Taps." The bugler, positioned near the firing party and in view of the next of kin, sounds "Taps" immediately after the firing party has been brought to *present arms*. From the first note of "Taps," and until its last note has sounded, military personnel attending in an unofficial capacity and honorary pallbearers *uncover* and salute.

Although not sung at a funeral, the following words have been written for "Taps":

Fades the light,
And afar,
Goeth day
Cometh night;
And a star
Leadeth all,
Speedeth all
To their rest. (Boatner 42)

At the conclusion of "Taps," the rifles of the firing party are locked, and the escort commander commands *order*, *ARMS*, *parade*, *REST*. The active pallbearers holding the flag above the casket fold the flag.

The band plays appropriate music as the flag is folded. The flag, when folded, is passed chest level to a pallbearer who *faces* left at the head of the grave and places the flag into the hands of the officer in charge (OIC). The pallbearer salutes the flag for three seconds and then *faces* right, returning to his original position. The active pallbearers *face* left together and march away from the grave in a column of twos. The OIC presents the flag to the next of kin or passes it to the chaplain for presentation. The presenter uses an expression similar to that which has become standard at Army funerals, "This flag is presented on behalf of a grateful nation, as a token of our appreciation for the honorable and faithful service rendered by your loved one." The band and escort remain in position until the family begins to move away from the grave. The escort commander commands the band and escort to *march* from the area, at *quick time*, to a single drum tap; the other elements conform. At the first *halt*, the rifles of the firing party are unloaded and inspected.

Thus, a standard military funeral has been enacted in accordance to regulation. But what is not written in the regulation is how a funeral service is performed. The first and most striking component of the performance is the manipulation of space by the marching procession. While the procession is involved with moving the funeral party from the chapel to the funeral site, manipulation of space really occurs at the grave's side. Referring back to Figure 18, all of the performers occupy a spot in relation to the casket and spectators. Upon arrival at the gravesite, the firing party immediately marches a path that encircles the space in which the funeral will be performed. They are followed by the escort commander, escort and band who all close the half circle around the site. After the

family members take their spots, the area is sealed off by the pallbearers. Symbolically, the firing party might be in position to guard the grave, but because the volleys are blank, I perceive their position as a way to keep the energy of the space contained. As the family members, serving as spectators to the performance, look out and over the casket, their focus is met by the firing party and the bugler. And at the end of the sermon when emotions can be overwhelming and dispersing, the containing presence of the firing party and bugler is intensified through the fired volleys and sounded horn. All of the movement commands either surround the spectators or move directly towards them. This in effect creates a kind of cocoon which sets apart the flow of everyday life by framing a segment of it in the manner Myerhoff described earlier.

The second prominent component of the performance of the funeral is the manipulation of the body by the military personnel or "performers." As previously discussed, the funeral is the outcome from redress and provides an opportunity for a military culture to reestablish order and equilibrium. Because the performers march, stand, and turn as prescribed by the marching code, their individual bodies appear to look, move and sound the same. This appearance of conformity to the spectators provide stability and deters outbursts. Soldiers are instructed to always maintain military bearing throughout the ceremony. During a funeral, there are no displays of emotion from any of the performers. Eyes remain focused straight ahead and focused; bodies move in unison and only when commanded to do so. It is true manipulation of the body to keep one's military bearing during unseasonable weather, under the weight of a very heavy casket and, especially, in the presence of grieving family members.

"Performance is circumstantial, taking into account the performer, the situation (the here and now), and the public. This last point, the question of spectator, is the most radical issue in performance" (Pontbriand 158). Because I have performed in the firing party at military funerals, I have experienced the relationships mentioned above. I never knew the deceased, nor their family. That however did not stop me from the desire to perform my part impeccably. I was on funeral detail (as it is called on post) with other soldiers whom I knew to be immature and seemingly unsentimental. I was surprised when I witnessed a change of attitude from them during the playing of "Taps." We did not know the history of the song, but I remember we were profoundly affected the first time we heard it in a funeral. Some of these "unsentimental" soldiers admitted to shedding silent tears. In a strange way, we bonded as a group and whatever differences we had in other parts of our life on post, funeral detail was the one time we all got along. It is necessary to understand these details of this type of funeral ceremony in order to appreciate how it translates outside the military culture. The military funeral can provide not only a healing mechanism within its own culture, but for society in general as well. Such a performance does not happen by chance; it requires that every element be orchestrated to achieve a desired effect. As will be discussed in Chapter IV, such a funeral ceremony performance helped a nation through the mourning process.

Conclusion

It is impossible to consider military life without considering marching movement. Just as dance and theater have "through lines," so does the military. Marching, functional and performance, is the rope the military attaches its representations of values and self-

identity. Incorporating marching movement into public performances gives the Army a promoting tool for the continuation of its culture. It is intriguing to realize how the military uses representations of marching for its own internal purposes. As the outcome of a "social drama" and a D&C performance, the funeral ritual is not particularly extravagant. There is more pomp and circumstance associated with a basic trainee's graduation than with a standard veteran's funeral. But without the rehearsed steps, a sense of closure is denied. The military trains it soldiers for the unexpected, but any breach from acceptable results, such as a failed mission, has the potential to become a crises. There is no greater failure to a unit or a commander than the death of one of its own. Some kind of action must take place in order to restore the equilibrium that was disrupted. Victor Turner asserts that a culture that implements designed social dramas have the best odds in overcoming life changing events. For the military, the D&C funeral is just one of those remedies.

The next step of research falls in analyzing how "outsiders" have manipulated the representations of marching movement. The next chapter digs deeper into this notion and into the relationship between marching and an intended audience. Chapter IV examines the performance values created when marching becomes pure public performance while it also discusses the effect of recording marching on film, and probes how the medium affects the look of the movement.

CHAPTER IV

MARCHING FOR AN AUDIENCE: THE LOOK OF MARCHING MOVEMENT IN THE MASS MEDIA

The relationship between audience member and marching performer is genuinely dynamic, featuring an interchange of actions and responses to, between, and from both sides. Spectators congregate to view marching performances and make their presence known to the performers through applause, exclamations and whistles. This presence is not lost on the performers. On the contrary, audience appreciation is one of the perks of performing marching ceremonies. As a member of Funeral Detail, I performed ceremonies in less than ideal conditions. The weather was always a factor and without fail it was either unseasonably hot or raining buckets. This extra duty was scheduled during what would have been personal time which was a sacrifice without extra pay. Nevertheless, understanding the purpose of the ceremony and realizing the presence of family members inspired me and the unit to give the best possible performance. In rehearsals, we practiced to be accurate, but in performances, we pushed for perfection. Performances in front of spectators kindles a personal significance to the performer. A young Captain on the Marine's Silent Drill Team, Brad Baxter, believes he communicates what the Marine Corps means to him through his performances, "We present the Marine Corps to the American people and we basically sell the Marine Corps story" (Honor and Glory). The interchange of responses and expectations between performer and spectator

has the ability to affect the performer, the spectator and ultimately the performance. Known as *reflexivity*, this phenomenon is the third ingredient in Josette Feral's trilogy of essential performance characteristics (171).

Exploring reflexivity

A peek over that fourth wall can show how audience presence and feedback can alter the performance.

Introduced in Chapter II, Feral identifies three universal parts of a performance: manipulation of performer's body, manipulation of the performance space and the relationships occurring simultaneously between performer, audience and performance. Of the three, the issue of audience is likely the most controversial component and the hardest to pin down. For example, theater-training programs teach what is known as the "fourth wall," the invisible barrier that blocks direct interaction between actor and spectator. Beginning actors (at least in the realism tradition) are taught not to break the fourth wall but to live "in the moment" without playing to any audience member. Of course students are taught not to turn their backs on the audience and to project their voices so the audience can hear them, but the effect of an audience's presence during performance is not usually addressed. Although, it may be possible to perform without playing to members of an audience, it is a mistake to disregard their presence.

Chantal Pontbriand in "The eye finds no fixed point on which to rest. . ." writes, "Performance is circumstantial, taking into account the performer, the situation (the here and now), and the public. This last part, the question of the spectator, is the most radical issue in performance" (Pontbriand 158). The spectator comes to the performance

anticipating and waiting for something to happen. He is not a mere bystander who will just happen to witness something. This active interchange brings both groups together as it creates the performance. While focusing on the role of the performer in performance studies, we must not forget to look at the role of the spectator. According to playwright, director, stage-manager, actor and set designer Richard Foreman, to be a *proper* (emphasis added) spectator is to be at two places at once—seeing where the performance is and seeing where you are watching. Pontbriand writes that Foreman wants the spectator not to concentrate solely on the thing, but to look between and among things, and to listen (or see) what is between the works (160). Therefore, a "proper" spectator—or in what I will term an "active" spectator—has the capability of discovering and responding to a performance beyond what the performer intends.

An active spectator sees and responds to marching movement beyond its traditional contexts. What he sees or on what "fixed point" his eye rests is dependent on the performance. Different performances yield different performances choices. For marching, this is observed in the distinction between functional and performance marching. The previous chapter examined this concept through the analysis of the ceremonial marching at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The analysis identified marching and drill movements that were either enhanced or manipulated for what appears to be for the benefit of the audience. We know that U.S. military exhibitions started out as "in-house" productions that helped to foster and maintain a cultural identity. As these exhibitions expanded to include non-military spectators, marching performances evolved.

The more spectators became a consideration, the better designed (less functional, more performance) marching exhibitions became. Although specific movements of the Tomb Guards are highlighted for the benefit of the spectator, this is not sufficient to indicate that the performance itself is dependent on the spectator. The guarding of the tomb is a 24 hour a day assignment and the ceremony continues with or without the presence of an audience. The performances of the Silent Drill Team, however, are completely dependent on an audience. They exist solely for the purpose of being seen by an audience. I refer to this kind of performance as an *audience-driven* performance. Just as a distinctive line between functional marching and performance marching can be drawn, there exists yet another division to be considered within performance marching: marching that is created specifically for performance. Because performances include spectators, I wish to examine how audience-driven performances influence marching movement. Marching as a source of performance created for spectators did not appear spontaneously. The kinds of marching performance done by groups like the Silent Drill Team are extensions of this country's history of marching parades.

Parades and public marching performances in the United States

Parades were created for the audience and it is the audience that gives a parade its purpose.

America has a healthy and enduring tradition of parade participation and viewing. Centered around significant events in the country's history like the adoption of the Constitution (1788), parades borrowed dramatic techniques, devices and symbols from the stage (Davis 15). A medium of planned and spontaneous collective expression, street

parades became patterned, repetitious events in the nineteenth-century in large urban areas (Davis 8). Before this time, the most popular kinds of parades were either street demonstrations or performances that moved through the city. The organized, rank and file form of parades we are familiar with today came from the militia and their recruitment efforts. A powerful public relations tool, militia men gained new members by demonstrating the virtues of voluntary associations by staging marches in the streets:

> Embodying discipline in action, militia parades contrasted with rowdy license, carving order out of disorder and asserting respectability and elegance over irrationality and poverty. . . A brilliantly dressed, well-disciplined, obedient network of young men from good families, held together by ties of service and patriotic reverence, the volunteers exemplified all a male citizen should be. (Davis 71)

The enthusiasm and popularity of the militaristic displays came to dominate parade style. Ultimately, military respectability infused parade making until parade making itself became a respectable act (Davis 71).

The emergence and the endurance of this form of public demonstration is a testimony to the undeniable dynamic between spectator and performer. The parade was created for the audience, and it is the audience that gives a parade its purpose. Originally conceived as a nonliterary form of communication, parades—particularly military parades—were conceptually designed for live audiences. Over time, audiences grew larger, and parades became a medium of mass communication. With spectators lined along different points on the parade route, an individual's fixed point of observation would vary from spectator to spectator. The results of the performance, in this case the analysis of marching movement, became dependent on who saw what at which place.

Also, the performance itself became dependent on the constraints of time (a live event) and space (where performer and spectator can both fit). In such an unstable environment, the design and execution of the event has many limitations. What would happen if the limitations of time and space were removed? Would marching movement that was already created for an audience somehow appear different when the eye of the spectator is controlled?

Parade marching and a mourning nation: the televised funeral of John F. Kennedy, Jr.

With the help of performance marching, an entire nation collectively mourned a fallen president. As with any military funeral, the march helped honor the dead as it preserved stability.

How a performance is designed and how it is presented to the spectator is not only a matter of movement but also of mass and medium. Before film and television were invented, marching parades and processions could only be witnessed as live events. Certainly, photographic still shots were available, but they were inadequate to record kinetic movement. In Chapter III, I provided an analysis of a military funeral. Incorporating the reference manual and its translation to live performance, I described how marching becomes a very real and visceral part of the mourning process. The marching in a military funeral serves a higher function than merely transporting the casket. The movement's carving of space, slower rhythm, and carefully placed interruptions, are intended to contain the mourners and their potential outbreaks. The marching funeral's purpose is two fold: to honor the dead and to preserve stability. This

powerful event, prior to the advent of film and television, could only be accessed by those in actual attendance, and therefore affected only a select few.

When the funeral of John F. Kennedy, Jr. aired on live television November 25, 1963, an entire nation collectively mourned the fallen president. President Kennedy was buried with full military honors including a funeral procession much like the one described in the previous chapter. However, it was not only the grandness of the scene and the subject that made J.F.K.'s funeral so remarkable. The funeral is so memorable because it was also presented before a television viewing mass audience. The word "presented" is an accurate characterization, because although the procession followed military tradition, it was definably designed with a civilian audience in mind. The largest portion of the intended audience witnessed the event from the viewpoint of what was shown to them by their televisions.

Reviewing the above, it is possible to distinguish two ways in which the spectator influenced the performance. The first method is in the performance's conception. In this case, the conception was provided by the First Lady. Jacqueline Kennedy wanted to fashion her husband's funeral after the funeral of the last American president to suffer an assassin's bullet: Abraham Lincoln. Hours of research into the national archives were authorized for her request. President Kennedy's funeral occurred only four days after the shooting, giving this assignment had a very hard and urgent deadline. From the lying in state at the Capitol to the processional from St. Matthew's Cathedral to Arlington National Cemetery, Kennedy was honored in much the same manner that Lincoln was (Four Days in November). The second, and more significant, factor is the manner in

which the funeral was presented. The television camera simultaneously recorded and broadcast the live images of the event to the world. As such, while those present became the targeted audience, the camera was the primary spectator for the millions around the world watching. The use of the camera overcame the limitations of time and space. With its selected images, the camera was able to control the performance because it did not allow the viewing spectator to be a "proper" one as Foreman would wish.

The placement of the television camera and the chosen images it recorded manipulated the performance of J.F.K.'s funeral. The televised images can be viewed today in the film Four Days in November (1964), a drama-documentary video that chronicles the events prior to the assassination, the assassination itself, and the funeral of John F. Kennedy, Jr. Footage of the funeral procession was excerpted from the televised footage. It is not by chance that the majority of the footage is of the marching soldiers accompanying the horses and black caisson carrying the casket and of the related mourners that follow (Figure 20). A commentator remarks, " It is a very, very beautiful thing to see of course the sounds of the hoofs on the concrete. And the beat of the drum really set a tone" (Honor and Glory). Even with the thousands of people in attendance, the only sounds heard are the counts of the drums and the clops of the horses. The march was paced at 100 beats per minute, 20 less than normal. Yet when observed, the marching does not appear slow. An interesting contrast develops between the movements of the military personnel and the civilians in the procession. At one point, the procession halts and the camera shows the soldiers standing at *attention*—completely and perfectly still. The camera then cuts away to the civilians trying to stand still but instead are

restless and fidgety. The viewing spectator feels the tension of the mourners because they look out of sorts next to the trained marchers.

Marching then takes over as the dominant movement. In the procession, the military unit leads the way followed by Jacqueline Kennedy, family members, statesmen and other related parties (Figure 21). The combination of drumbeats and the footsteps of the unit keep Mrs. Kennedy and the rest *in step* with the soldiers. This becomes even more obvious when the casket is carried up to the church. The military pallbearers change from the regular marching rhythm to a *step and pause* rhythm while ascending the church steps. The movement resembles a wedding march as one foot is placed down while carrying the body's full weight. There is a moment of complete stillness until the next foot is placed and the weight is transferred to the other foot. While this is the military way to ascend stairs as a unit, it is not a natural way for pedestrians to walk up stairs. The footage shows each person after the military unit adopting the same *step and pause* method of walking.

Figure 20. Casket and black caisson from the Funeral of John F. Kennedy, Jr. United Press International and American Heritage Magazine, Four Days: The Historical Record of the Death of President Kennedy (United Press International: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1964) 107.

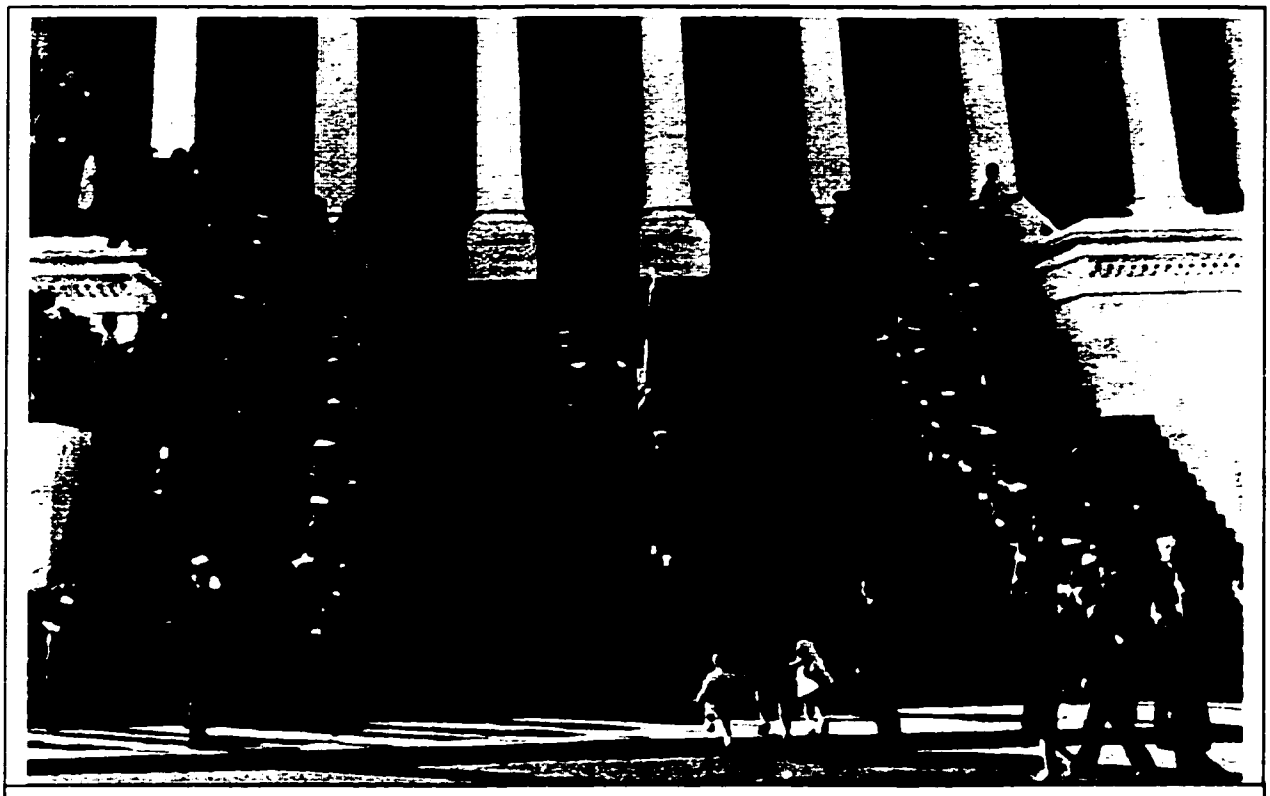


Figure 21. Mrs. Kennedy and mourners following casket. United Press International and American Heritage Magazine, Four Days: The Historical Record of the Death of President Kennedy (United Press International: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1964) 78.

As for the camera techniques used, there is not anything particularly fancy about the method of filming the funeral procession. The procession is shown predominately from three camera angles. The first has the camera placed far ahead of the procession so that viewers see the procession heading towards them. The second is closer and shows the profiles of the participants passing by. And finally, the third is another long shot this time behind the procession as it heads off into the distance. It is a simple narrative technique that illustrates a beginning, middle and end. To make sure the intended point of view is not missed, the camera cuts to show crying mourners in the crowd. Thus, the viewing audience did not receive impartial marching images; they were given a somber story to watch.

Millions of viewers became connected members to the mourning process because of their accessibility to the live images through the medium of television. Even though the camera operator did not orchestrate or choreograph the marching procession, he did, through the view of his camera, give the spectator a fixed point to rest his or her eye. The television viewing audience was given different perspectives than those standing along the processional route. In other words, the television audience did not see the funeral—they saw a representation of the funeral which was conveyed through the marching movement. Now, as defined in Chapters II and III, performance marching is already a representation of functional marching. So, what then happens when performance marching (parades, public marching performances, or military funerals such as J.F.K.'s) is recorded on film or videotape? Do we see yet another representation of the movement? And if so, how does the act of recording create that representation? To answer these questions, it will be necessary to look at different examples of marching movement that have been recorded on film.

Ceremonial marching recorded on film

One example shows how recording a marching performance can alter the performance value of ceremony.

Guardian of the Golden Gate: Presidio of San Francisco (1994) is a documentary film about the history of the military post in Northern California. It also contains a filmed recording of U.S. Army soldiers performing a flag retiring ceremony. A flag retiring ceremony is essentially the same as a flag lowering ceremony, with the difference lying in the final purpose of each type of performance. On every post, it is standard practice to

perform a flag lowering ceremony to signal the end of the working day. With a flag retiring ceremony, however, the flag is lowered and will never be raised again because either the flag is old and worn or because a post is deactivated. In terms of actual movements, both ceremonies are identical. A standard D&C practice, the specifics on how to lower the flag from the flagpole and how to fold it are detailed in FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies. Performed outside and in the open, it is another example of performance marching. In Guardian of the Golden Gate, the closure of the Presidio as a military fort is demonstrated by filming the flag retiring ceremony of the Post's American flag.

For this particular scene, the opening shot is long with the flagpole centered in the middle of the view. The shot remains long and stationary as a single marching formation enters into the space. Once the entire formation is within full view, the camera follows its path moving slightly from left to right (directions given are as seen by the viewer). After the marchers arrive at the flagpole, the camera holds position and does not move. The soldiers lower and fold the flag. While one member carries the flag, the formation exits the space by returning on the same path on which they entered. This time the camera remains steady and does not follow their travel allowing the soldiers to disappear from view.

This footage is a simple recording of the short ceremony. With the exception of some very minor camera movements, the film does not focus on any one aspect of the ceremony more than another. In this manner, it is an accurate and egalitarian representation giving equal attention to each part of the ceremony. By not drawing

attention to any specific part of the ceremony, the camera does not direct the spectator's eye. This lack of direction or aiming flattened what is usually a poignant performance. There were no dynamics, no changes in phrasing or rhythm. The mission was obvious—lowering a flag from a pole. Yet the mission, as presented, lacked intention and motivation. I have both witnessed and performed flag lowering ceremonies, and much like the Funeral Details, there exists a feeling of reverence and solemnity. It is fair to say that witnessing a flag retiring ceremony at the San Francisco Presidio, a post with great history and beauty, would generate feelings even more poignant. Alas, the documentary style of filming described here had the opposite effect. The filming of marching in this example did not change the performance code to marching. It did, however, affect the performance value of the movement. It is not just the act but rather the method in which marching is filmed that creates differences in performance value. This becomes particularly relevant when comparing the film of the Presidio ceremony to the docu-drama approach seen in the funeral of J.F.K. Thus, if style of film making draws out different performances of marching movement, it is worthy to explore the significance of style or genre.

The role of genre in establishing a point of view

Genre provides a context in which a film or recording will be interpreted.

Rick Altman, in The American Film Musical, argues that genres are not neutral categories, and therefore, provide a specific set of "intertexts" for interpretation:

> Genres appear as agents of a quite specific and effective ideological project: to control the audience's reaction to any specific film by providing the context in which that film must be interpreted . . . constitution of a

> genre short circuits the "normal" sequence of interpretation. . . .Genres cannot be considered solely as impersonal agents of narrative organization but as discursive acts as well. They create the context of how a performance is recorded and ultimately interpreted. (4-5)

Altman suggests that genre adds a second interpretive level when studying performance on film. The first level is perceiving what the camera reveals and the second is understanding the conditions of the performance. Genre is charged with the duty of pointing the audience's perception in a particular direction. Without that targeted audience's perceptions, the messages embedded in the performance would never be received. Thus, the performance can only exist for that audience. This creates a point of view that is dependent on that targeted audience. In other words, the performance is audience-driven. If marching recorded on film is a representation of performance marching (which is already a representation of marching movement), then the filming of marching movement in a specific genre should provide new representations of marching performances. With these new representations, are opportunities for greater expressivity.

The genre of musical comedy films and marching

Growing up together: musicals and marching movement took a parallel developmental course as Hollywood set about to invent this new genre.

Marching as an expressive form of movement reached a new level of performance through its representation in the American musical comedy film. The new movie genre, which evolved from the older Broadway tradition of musical comedies, was not a restaged Broadway musical captured on film. The Hollywood musical carried its own set of performance values and conventions. In musical comedy film, genre allows for

performance choices not typically accepted by an audience. For example, a staple element unique to the musical comedy performance, staged or filmed, is the song and dance sequence within the narrative. The song and dance numbers, not the story, are the cornerstone of the genre. Early musical film comedies were called "backstage" musicals because the stories occurred on or around a set or stage and told the gritty backstage life of performers (Balio 214). This created the natural motivation to introduce dance numbers and was initially the only acceptable avenue for song and dance. Whereas Broadway audiences were accustomed to seeing characters spontaneously break out in song and dance, Hollywood resisted illogical and unmotivated song and dance breaks:

> The coming of sound to the hitherto silent world of the feature film heralded a new fidelity to the real world. The addition of dialogue would allow the motion picture camera to reproduce the reality of daily life with unparalleled accuracy, as both sound and image became one. The Hollywood musical comedy was born with the birth of sound, and from that date, it experienced logical restrictions that its Broadway parent never had to endure. (Woll 20-21)

From the first true Hollywood musical, The Jazz Singer (1927) through the early 1930s, the only plot device that motivated characters to break out in song and dance was to create characters who were stage or film performers needing to rehearse a show number. Critics charged that musical film had an escapist nature because of its genre's encoded qualities of showmanship, memorable tunes, and the "indefinable element of heart" (McVay 11). Predominately, the entertaining show numbers only added to the "come on everyone let's get happy and dance" feeling of the films.

The first film to challenge the escapist nature of the musical was Gold Diggers of 1933 with its grand finale "Remember My Forgotten Man." The musical number was

inspired by the then recent march on Washington, D.C. by World War I veterans (Thomas 217). In the sequence, actors/dancers costumed in World War I army uniforms perform in marching sequences that portrayed the nation's veterans triumphant homecoming and, later, their plight to find work and food. Produced by Warner Brothers and choreographed by Busby Berkeley, Gold Diggers of 1933 defied one of its genre's biggest codes. Although the film musicals up to that time accepted the real world in terms of form, they ignored it in terms of content (Woll 29). Gold Diggers of 1933, a whimsical farce about young performers hoping to make it, allowed the economic reality of the depression and the bleak lives of World War I veterans to enter the generally blissful musical world of the 1930s. Interestingly, the vehicle used to show this reality was a musical number that featured marching movement.

Marching achieved two significant feats in " Remember My Forgotten Man": it usurped the traditional dance steps usually performed in a musical number, and it disrupted the escapist nature of musicals. The realism of the movement against the theatricality of the staging produced not only added performance value but emotional reaction as well. Close-ups on the faces of the men marching in fake rain indicated the harsh conditions they fought in. People movers (like the ones used in airports) were built into the set and can be seen as the soldiers crisscross the stage. The number's greatest staging achievement occurred when the soldiers marched onto the huge multi-tiered and arched stairway at the number's end (Figure 22). The ascension of the soldiers onto the huge apparatus aroused conflicting reactions. The sheer force of so many men marching onto the stage and ascending the set was characterized as portraying determination and

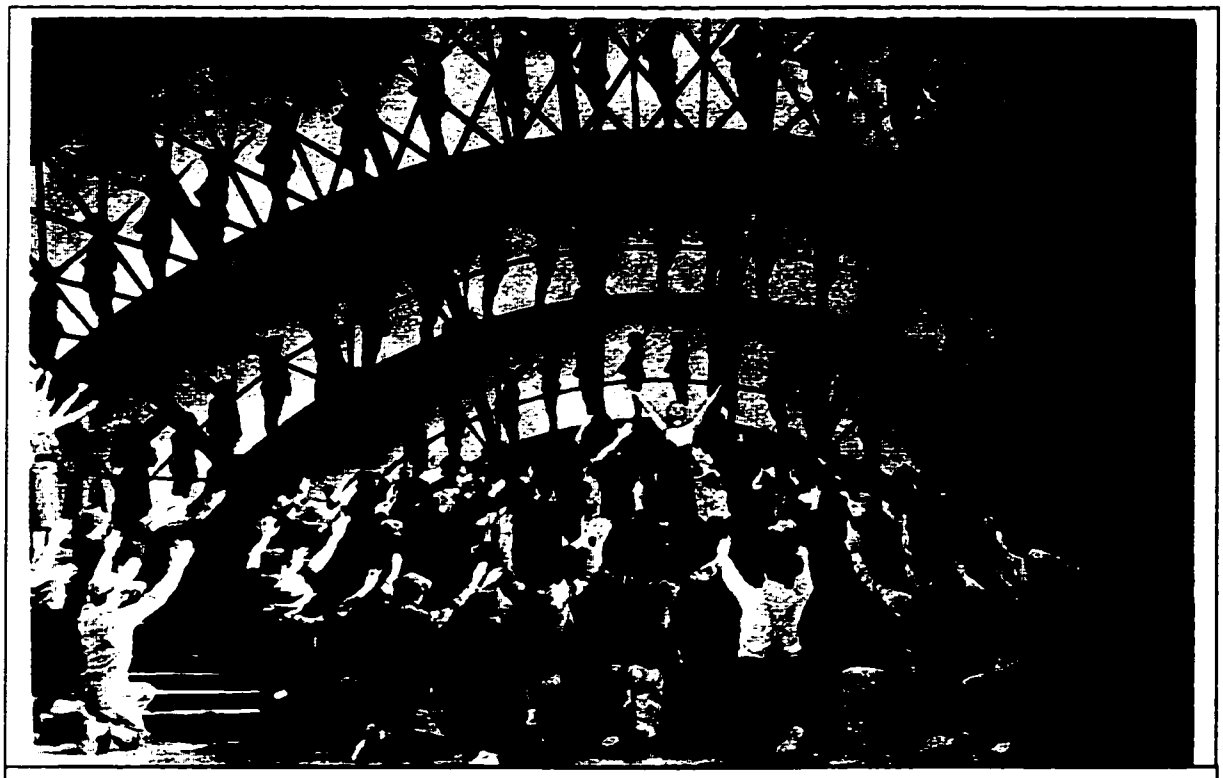


Figure 22. Final Scene "My Forgotten Man" from Gold Diggers of 1933. Kobal, Gotta Sing Gotta Sing Gotta Dance: A Pictorial History of Film Musicals (London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1970) 118.

pride. Conversely, the grandness of the production juxtaposed with the sterile expressions of the men would be later negatively viewed as resembling Hitler's Youth on Parade (McVay 14). Because the audiences of musical comedies expanded their acceptance of song and dance sequences in film, marching movement became increasingly integrated in the musical numbers.

Representations of marching in American musical comedy film

Can marching raise men to a higher ideological level or carry an audience away through its kinesthesis?

As the filmed musical comedies continued to evolve, so did the representations and performances of marching movement. By 1937, the "backstage" style of musical was

losing ground to less stereotypical methods of motivating song and dance (Altman 235). Musical numbers now began to motivate the plot. Song and dance sequences affirmed their legitimacy because the characters created a need for them (Altman 235). In time came the "biopic" musical, created around the life of an historical figure, preferably a performer of some kind (Altman 235). Yankee Doodle Dandy (1942), based on the life and music of George M. Cohan, is an excellent example of the biopic musical. It is also an important film in the evolution of the representation of marching in musical comedy film. Cohan's music is synonymous with American patriotism, and Yankee Doodle Dandy could have easily highlighted Cohan's music by incorporating marching band concerts or marching parades. A drama or even docu-drama probably would employ such a tactic. This film, however, takes advantage of its genre's artistic license. In its impressive production number the "George Washington Jr. Ballet," the film demonstrates the tension between the past and present. Images from previous American wars and struggles are the dramatic theme of the number (Figures 23 and 24) and marching soldiers

Figures 23 and 24. Images from "George Washington Jr. Ballet" in Yankee Doodle Dandy. Woll, The Hollywood Musical Goes to War (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983) 93.

are the messengers of the story. The marching movement in the musical segments are creatively choreographed and filmed in a manner so that the movement dominates the image. The following analyses from the "George Washington Jr. Ballet" illustrate how.

A curtain opens to medium shot of a large American flag rising up a flagpole. In the background are four "soldiers" looking up at the flag. They are shown from the waist up, with a fifth figure barely visible toward the right. The camera is centered on the flag in the frame, but the angle is shot upward following the direction of the soldiers' gaze. The camera pulls into a closer shot of the flag and follows the gaze to the top of the flagpole. As the camera pulls up and away from the faces of the soldiers, a back edge of the stage is revealed. It is a reminder that this is a performance. The camera cuts to a higher overhead shot. The angle is focusing down from a position high and right simulating a bird's or perhaps a fighter pilot's view approaching landing. In the frame, there is a single large formation marching from upstage right, a formation leader (James Cagney), a marching band downstage left, and the entire flag and flagpole at center stage. A spotlight is on Cagney who is in front of the marching band. Cagney and the formation cross to just past center left. They stop and *face* front. Everyone but the marching band members salutes. On a musical cue, they release the salute. Immediately following, a group of individuals within the large formation executes a *left face*. Cagney performs the same movement in exact timing. The individuals march off upstage left as Cagney watches. The camera slowly zooms down and to the left until the flagpole is out of sight and rests upon Cagney. He *faces* front. The shot holds while Cagney begins

singing. The full body of Cagney is seen along with some members of the band in the background.

In another sequence within the same musical number, the camera holds a medium shot as bayonets pass by appearing to move on their own. Then, another fast cut exposes soldiers carrying the same bayonets while marching down stage right. The camera zooms back and to the right as the soldiers march, revealing more and more rows of bodies. The camera pans backward away from the marching soldiers. This technique gives the appearance that they are moving backward even though they are actually marching forward. With the same technique, Cagney "backs" into the frame, and the camera holds his image in the frame. As the camera continues to center Cagney in the frame, the soldiers now suddenly start moving forward. The camera closes in on Cagney's face, who is smiling, and a slow blackout ends the segment and number.

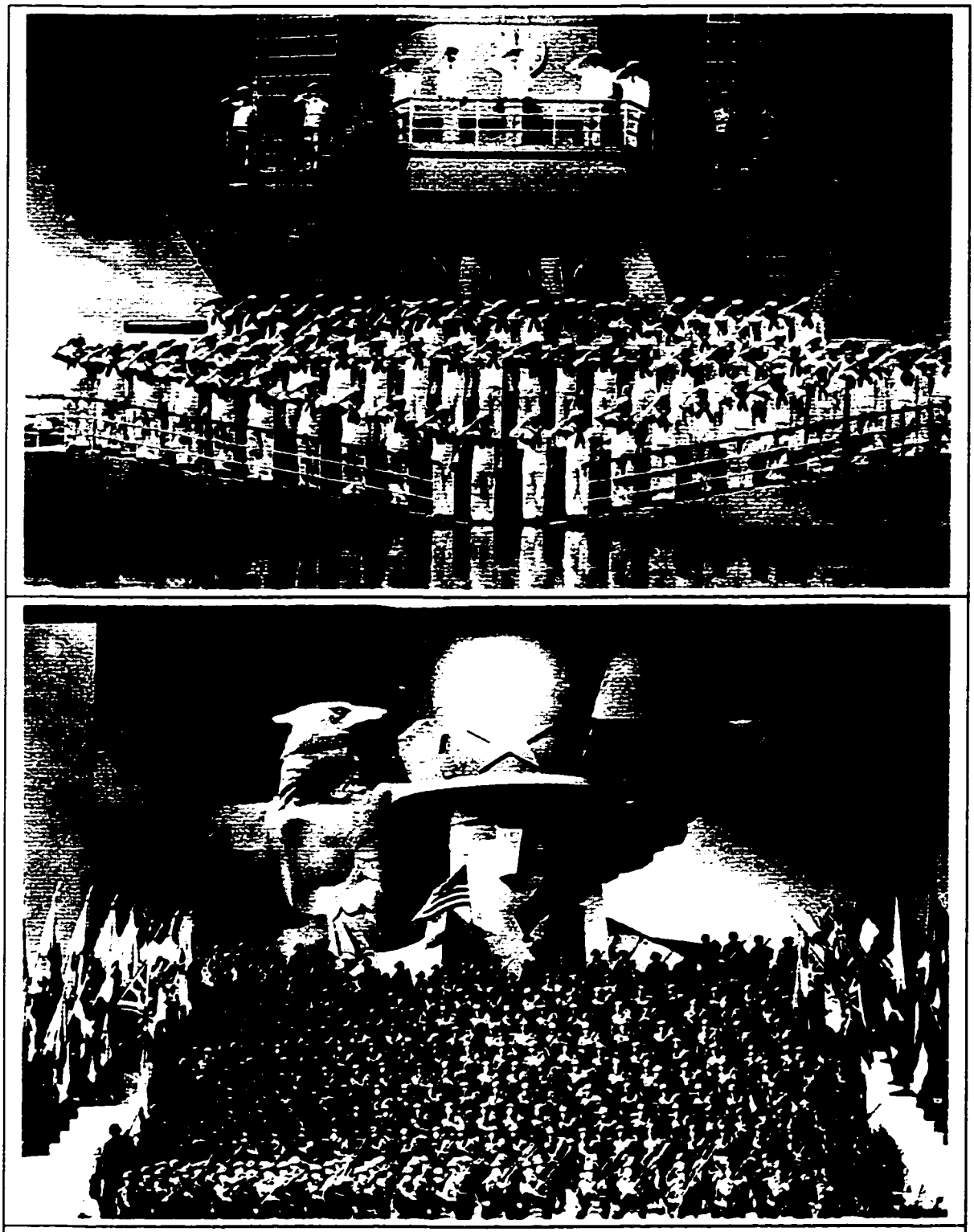
The entire musical number is rousing and energetic. It makes me want to get out of my chair and march as well. Even the most listless of us would have a hard time squashing the impulse to at least tap a foot. In these two sequences, the camera was able to capture different images of marching movement. In the first segment, marching was first filmed to be subordinate to the image of the flag. The camera placed the marchers behind and below the flag. As the camera follows the upward gaze of the marchers, their role as supporters of the flag changes. They have risen to become the ideological equal of the flag, and they symbolically represent the same metaphors as the American flag. In the second segment, the kinetic properties of marching are exploited. As filmed, the marching bayonets have a look of urgency. The movement is purposeful and is focused

on "getting there." You sense that if you were to come in contact with the moving force, you would be swept away with it. The camera's ability to fool the viewer into believing that the marchers are receding when they are in fact advancing fuels the feeling that the viewer will be overpowered by the movement.

The implications that marching can raise men to a higher ideological level or that it can carry you away through its kinestheses are new representations of the movement. This is unexpected because the marching still looks like military marching. There are small discrepancies in the movement based on its performance code. For example, in the first segment Cagney is in front of the formation and off center. The American Army performance codes state that a formation leader is to be on the side and centered on the formation. Also, the group of soldiers who separate and march off stage technically are not supposed to break away from a formation. And lastly, Cagney's incessant wide grins could be seen as breaking the code because smiling is not authorized while marching. These breaks from the code, however, are not the causes of these empowered images of marching. The camera does not equally record all movements. Some movements are highlighted and emphasized which cue the spectator's eye. Musical comedies disrupted the conventional use of marching in film, and camera angles manipulated the representations of the movement. Because of the success of filmed musical comedies, American audiences soon became interested in seeing the medium focus on subjects like sports and politics. But as the second war in Europe continued, a new kind of filmed musical emerged (Woll 34).

The war musical film premiered in the World War II era and became the dominant film genre during the war years (Encyclopedia of War Film 444). There exists an amazing selection of musical films from this period—more than seventy-five were produced by 1944 (Woll ix). One in particular, This is the Army (1943), stands out because it features a cast of U.S. Army supplied talent. Lieutenant Ronald Reagan and Sergeant Joe Louis both served in the Army and performed in the movie. The musical numbers were staged by LeRoy Prinz with the help of an Army Master Sergeant. It also has several savvy marching production numbers (Figures 25 and 26). The film uses marching movement to represent, intensify and then escape from the reality of the pressures caused by war. This is demonstrated by the use of marching to depict recruits training and to signify soldiers going off to fight. An example of the first, representation of recruits training, is detailed below.

An extreme long shot shows a large courtyard where eight different formations consisting of approximately twenty-two members each march independently from the other. The shot holds constant as some groups enter the frame and others leave. One formation, slightly right of center, is practicing rifle handling drills. The scene cuts to a close shot of a formation leader and a single member within the formation. Even though only the top half of both torsos are visible, it is enough to expose differences between the two men. The leader's torso is rotund, an on-going joke at the expense of career sergeants. He is marching in correct rhythm and is staring intently at the feet of the other. The other man is slight of build and is looking down. He catches the viewer's eye because he executes a *change step* to get on the correct marching foot. From his



Figures 25 and 26. "How About a Cheer for the Navy" and "Finale" from This Is the Army. Woll, The Hollywood Musical Goes to War (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983) 92.

demeanor and actions, it would seem this marcher is a novice. The action takes less than ten seconds, but the viewer already knows quite a bit about the characters and where they are.

As with Yankee Doodle Dandy, the performance code of marching remains primarily intact. The performance of marching, however, is manipulated. For instance, this first shot in This is the Army features eight different formations marching in one frame. Because of the camera's use of a long shot, it is possible to see all eight. The close shot of the two soldiers has narrative relevance because they can be seen as two individuals instead of being seen as just two bodies in a group. The viewer is able to attach a character code, leader and follower, to the two men based solely on their marching ability. Finally, the center formation practicing rifle drills contributes to the dramatic setting—this is a "Boot Camp." This scene is fairly realistic in its representation of a training environment. However, the rotundness of the Drill Sergeant and the wise cracks from the fresh recruit are humorous tactics to lighten the reality. The film, although extremely corny, takes some interesting turns in how it represents reality.

A production number during the "troop show" early in the film changes from entertainment to ultra-reality in mid-number. A stage full of uniformed men are marching and singing about going off to France. When a message containing real orders to combat is delivered off-stage to the Drill Sergeant, the performers gracefully don their fully packed rucksacks and file off the stage into waiting military trucks. As the soldiers continually march and sing, family members in the audience (in the movie) realize this is not how the number was rehearsed. These men must really be marching off to war.

While the soldiers remain spirited and upbeat, some families express fear and devastation. The scene is completely unrealistic, but the emotions of the family members juxtaposed with the confident marchers intensifies the reality that some men probably will not return.

Film, marching and propaganda

The use of marching in propaganda films assigns marching a new role.

The point of view in This is the Army is indisputably pro-military, pro-war and pro-America. Point of view and the morphing between reality and entertainment in This is the Army pushes the film to a line separating the genres of musical comedy and propaganda. Propaganda takes an audience-driven performance to another level:

> . . . film and propaganda had to meet. Cinema is reality shifted, pointed and intensified; propaganda is a sifted, pointed, intensified idea used for a specific purpose. And their cooperation was a genuinely mutual one. First involuntarily, then more and more consciously, they have leaned on each other. When cinema first became aware of its own language and power, it was, in fact, through propaganda. From then on, its great moments were also those in the "art of persuasion." (Robert Vas, qtd. in Maynard v)

Altman is suggesting film genre controls an audience's reaction because of the context in which the film is presented. If the genre of propaganda film is an "art of persuasion," then propaganda film must seek out and connect with an audience in order to be effective. For this reason, propaganda films are entirely dependent on an audience for their creation and their effectiveness. An audience cannot be persuaded if it cannot be accessed. To be accessed, a means of popular mass exposure must exist.

The war musical film played its persuasive part in America's pro-war effort. There are many examples and representations of marching in these films. As a subject

matter, marching and propaganda film require much more attention than I can provide here. What is instantly striking, nonetheless, is the frequency in which marching becomes part of a musical number or a scene. Surely, pro-military or pro-war idioms can be expressed through a variety of means. It is another testament to the expressive powers of the movement that make marching such a prolific image in these films.

As prolific as the images were, there was never a question that the musicals were products of Hollywood. Maybe the masses were not aware they were watching propaganda, but they knew they were watching a form of performance. The music and dance sequences alone would signify the genre's performance conventions. If those were not sufficient, there were the additional indicators within the sequences like the exposed stage in the "George Washington Jr. Ballet" and the displayed people movers in "My Forgotten Man." Marching was a "real" movement long before musicals, yet when applied in the filmed comedies, it was exaggerated and extravagantly highlighted in large music production numbers not in the "real" action. Marching and musical film pointed and intensified reality, but it never aspired to be reality. What happens to marching movement when the recording of marching tries to create its own reality?

Triumph of the Will—staged marching made to look "real"

Over the course of one film, Hitler is transformed symbolically from a spiritual leader to a military leader. Marching movement superseded reality of events recorded in this propaganda masterpiece.

Images of marching boots from all angles literally trample their way into the consciousness after viewing Triumph of the Will (1934-1936). Adolph Hitler

commissioned director Leni Riefenstahl to create a film vehicle to immortalize the Sixth Nazi Congress' triumphant unification and power at Nuremberg. Leni Riefenstahl, the film's director, first declined Hitler's commission then later accepted even though she claimed she had no knowledge of the Party or its organization (Hull 74). It was 1932, and movie audiences were accustomed to the newsreel style of film making. According to Riefenstahl, this style created "static" images. She wanted to make a film that provided kinetic cinematic energy to essentially static events (Barsam, Filmguide 24). Riefenstahl credited her background as a dancer that taught her about artistic shape, movement, and rhythm (Barsam, Filmguide 25). The product of her vision, direction and editing was a two-hour propaganda masterpiece that took two years to finish, cost more than $100,000 and used sixty-one hours of footage taken from speeches, parades and processions.

There are still debates as to what extent the events filmed were staged for the camera or creatively captured by the camera (Figure 27). For example, the annual Party Rally was not produced for Riefenstahl's benefit, but she did receive great cooperation from the organizers to film as she wanted (Barsam, "Leni Riefenstahl" 255). Hitler's Party in reality was not the cohesive tour de force as filmed by Riefenstahl:

> . . . she redeems and re-creates factual footage to express her vision. She manipulates narrative, psychological, and thematic interest to produce nonchronological documents. Through her vision, the very organic nature and rhythm of reality are reordered into a new entity, classical in form, romantic in spirit. (Barsam, "Leni Riefenstahl" 254)

Riefenstahl insisted, however, that the film is a documentary, "The film is purely historical. I state precisely; it is *film-verite*. It reflects the truth that was then, in 1934, history. It is therefore a documentary" (qtd. in Barsam, Filmguide 28).

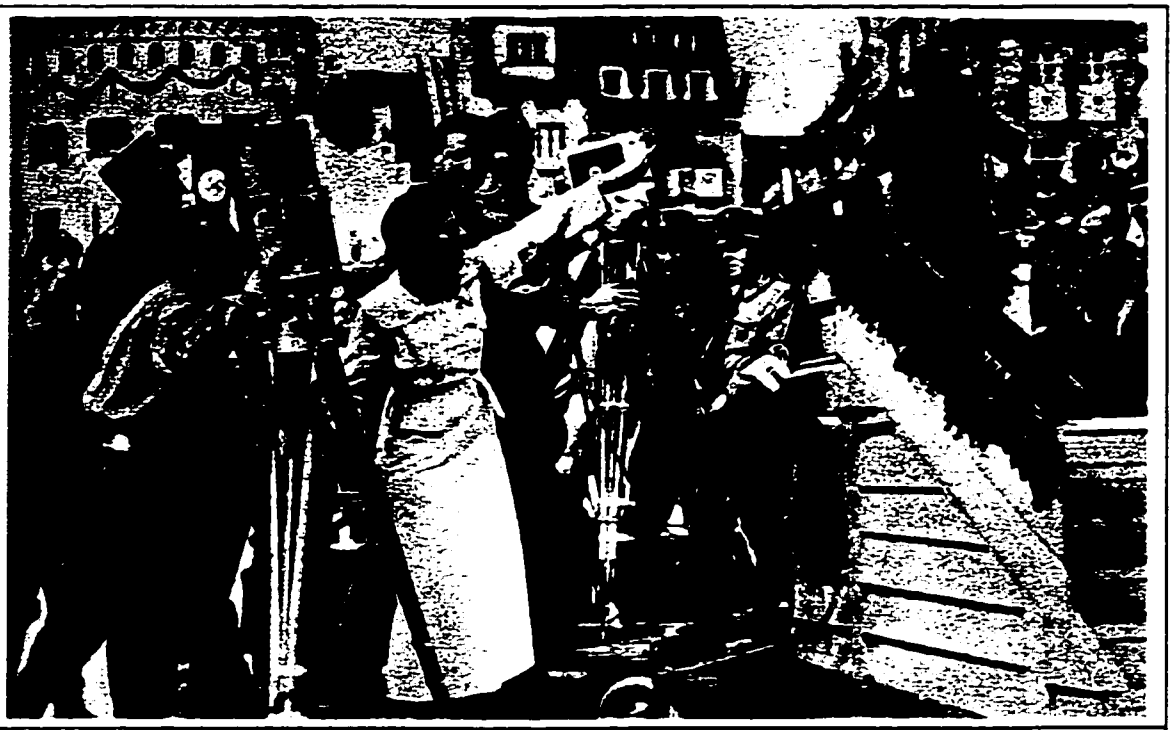


Figure 27. Leni Riefenstahl gives direction to her camera crew during filming of Triumph of the Will. Hull, Film in the Third Reich (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969) 75.

Whether or not she intended to make a film that superseded the reality in the events she recorded, the majority of film theorists believed she did just that. Robert Vas, in his essay "Sorcerers of Apprentices: Some Aspects of the Propaganda Film," takes particular exception to Riefenstahl's use of marching movement in the film. The combination of the reality (marching soldiers) and stylization (camera angles and editing) give the film an overpowering urgency of movement. Vas writes, "There isn't a baroque castle on earth, or any laws of art which could hold out against those marching boots" (12). The second to last scene of the movie, scene 11, is of a long parade of German military and labor service forces from all regions of Germany. A variety of camera angles record the parade including views from the air, from windows and apertures in buildings,

from bridges and from moving vehicles (Barsam, Filmguide 58). The camera and its subjects are constantly moving. The longest scene of the film, scene 11 runs just at seventeen minutes with sixteen of those minutes presenting row after row of marching participants (Figure 28). As each passes by, rank after rank, troop after troop, regiment after regiment, the anticipation builds not to a relief, but only to more anticipation (Barsam, Filmguide 60). The feeling of anticipation is incrementally increased by the shifting point of view of the camera. One second the spectator is viewing the whole picture and then quickly he is seeing the parade as one of the participants. Riefenstahl not only brings the spectator to the parade, she makes him part of it.

Through the power expressed by the continuously marching boots, Hitler is transformed from the spiritual leader (as indicated earlier in the film) to the head of the military forces (Barsam, Filmguide 61). He stands erect and gives each passing unit his undivided attention. When he is impressed with a particular unit, Hitler calls over to the commander of the unit. The commander then joins him at the place of honor on the parade route. Hitler, as military leader, shows he recognizes exceptional effort and rewards those who demonstrate it. Most of the troops portray an image of brooding seriousness. In contrast, there is almost a hint of innocence as the workers, wearing Bavarian lederhosen and long socks, pass by. The common man sees he, too, has a role in Hitler's army. Leni Riefenstahl and her appreciation of kinetic energy made a film in which the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Soldiers marching down the street could just be a bunch of men, but a film of their trampling feet expresses power: "Reality

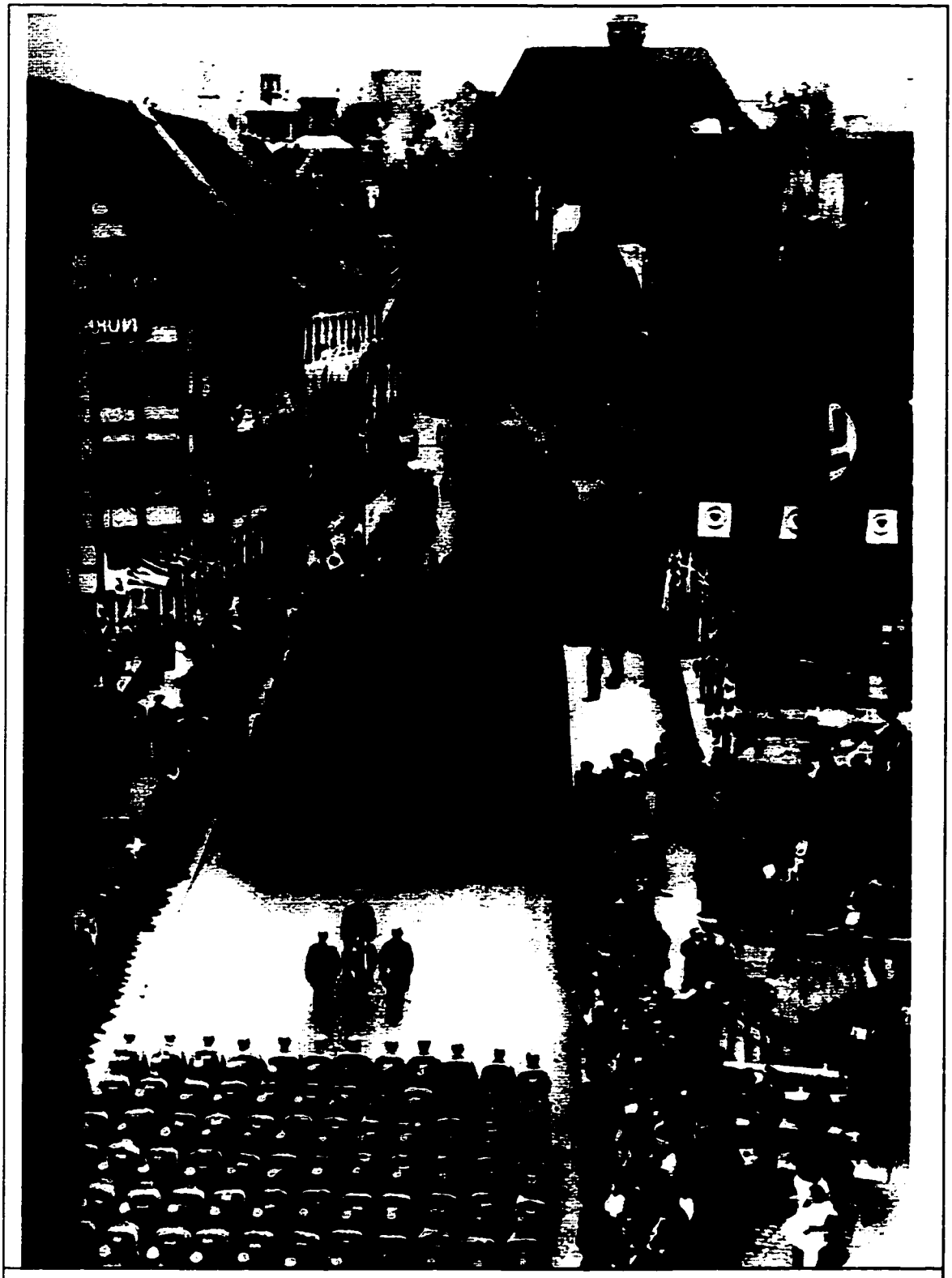


Figure 28. Parade of marching soldiers through old Nuremberg in Triumph of the Will. Infield, Leni Riefenstahl: The Fallen Film Goddess (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976) 76(m).

and symbol walk in step with each other to a thunderous marching rhythm, and for the first time history is used in a direct way to shape history" (Vas 11).

Conclusion

The evolution of marching movement from a means of transportation to a vehicle of expressivity is a matter of mass and medium. As audiences grew in numbers, so did the methods of reaching them. The technology of the day prescribed how an audience member would receive an image. As technology became sophisticated and audiences became targeted, favorable responses from the audience encouraged more productions. My argument is not which came first: the chicken or the egg; the audience or the medium or the performance. What is significant is the influence each has on the other. The three-way relationship is symbiotic and irrefutable. It is definably capable of causing changes to each member involved. When marching becomes the performance member of the triad, its representation is manipulated in a variety of practices. We see changes in narrative values, performance and aesthetic values. Marching even redefines reality. These influences are the products of audience-driven performances created through a specific point of view. Although the performance of marching has been manipulated, the marching in every example presented in this chapter still "looks" like marching. The next step in this study is the deconstruction and reapplication of the elements of marching movement and the new performances that emerge. Follow along as the next chapter explores the appropriation of the mechanics of marching into popular culture and popular dance forms.

CHAPTER V

APPROPRIATION OF MARCHING MOVEMENT INTO POPULAR DANCE FORMS AND BEYOND: MANIPULATION OF THE PERFORMANCE CODE

A definition of appropriation

More complex than imitation, appropriation is the isolation, removal and re-tooling of elements from one venue to another.

It is said that the greatest form of flattery is imitation. For marching movement, this famous expression could be modified to say that the strongest indication of a movement's expressive power is its appropriation. Appropriation, in performance analysis, involves identifying performance devices and recognizing those devices in different types of performances. Appropriation is not the same as duplication or even imitation. Both duplication and imitation imply taking a whole idea, (image, movement, sound, performance, etc.) and transplanting it intact into another venue. Appropriation, conversely, isolates a specific characteristic, removes it and integrates it. That appropriated characteristic becomes imbedded in the new form in such a manner that often its original form is lost. The use of the word "appropriation" in performance studies is sometimes associated with concepts of something being taken, overpowered or even violated and victimized like a hostile take-over. The working definition used here is more akin to the pleasantries affiliated with imitation. It is a complimentary gesture that recognizes and appreciates a characteristic enough to make it part of something new.

The distinguishing performance device of marching movement is its performance code. The combined and codified kinetic actions of the whole body gives marching its unique look. This chapter is a study in how elements of the performance code of marching have been appropriated into new performance forms.

Appropriation or imitation?

The working definition of appropriation is tested.

At first, a logical direction to pursue is the development of marching movement in marching band performances. The facts that marching bands exist for an audience and are part of our popular culture are motivating research factors. It stands to reason that the more common a performance is in a culture, the more aesthetic strength it has. Because of their pervasiveness, marching band performances are immediately recognizable by certain performance elements such as instruments, costumes and movement. The element of movement is embodied in a march. The march becomes a basis of performance and entertainment and contains its own expressive qualities. Enjoyed as public performances, spectators are given the opportunity to acquire different points of view and personal rationales for interpretation. After further consideration however, marching band exhibitions do not qualify as appropriated performances. The venue of performance on a football field is different from one on a parade field, but the movement itself is practically indistinguishable. In other words, the performance code of marching remains intact when applied to marching bands. Marching bands essentially fall under the definition of imitation of marching movement. The sources for appropriation examples, therefore, might not be obvious or easy to find.

Covertness is another word identified with appropriation, and so the challenge is to uncover the appropriated elements hidden in popular performances. With this idea in mind, the first half of this chapter looks at one of our most popular and endearing dance forms—the kicking chorus line. With its European roots, the kick-line has migrated across oceans, onto different stages and into the hearts of audiences. The second half is a departure into unexpected territory. Discovering different appropriated movements and performances can open one's investigating eye to surprising results. By examining some unlikely allies of marching movement, shared performance traits are revealed. These analyses are by no means an exhaustive study of the appropriation of marching movement elements into popular culture. They are instead an invitation for expanded and heightened awareness.

High kicks and low behavior

The etiology of the cancan is obscure, but its lasting image of high kicks remains vivid.

The chorus-line form of choreography almost certainly first appeared in the United States in the early twentieth century (Price 62). The choreography might have been American, but the high kicks were definitely French. The exact origin of the cancan is obscure; it seems more "evolved" than "created." The history consists of several phases, starting with amateurish, spontaneous efforts, followed by decades in which male, then female solo dancers began to give it form. Eventually, the cancan evolved into the all women, choreographed "chorus lines" we recognize today (Price 24). Interestingly, it was the wild abandonment of the high kicks and exaggerated movements of the arms and

not the display of undergarments that first disturbed the Victorian sensibilities. One female critic wrote, "It doesn't look pretty to see a lady kick" (Price 62). Despite such puritanical sensibilities, pretty ladies kicking have come along way since the "naughty nineties" of Paris:

> Dancers, choreographers and theater managers all agree that the cancan is the one dance in the repertoire of variety shows that is guaranteed to enliven the most jaded of audiences. It has an infectious quality which engenders a feeling of joie de vivre like nothing else, and it is this quality which has ensured the dance's survival as an image of pleasure and fun, recognized throughout the world. (Price 184)

Correctly or not for most, the lasting image of a cancan is of women kicking in a line and in unison. Readily observed or not, the movement and choreographic elements of a chorus line are shared with marching movement.

Giving the "standard" chorus line a second look

Behind every chorus line performance is a marching formation influencing the movement.

Referring again to the four elements of dance as described by Doris Humphrey—design, dynamics, rhythm and motivation—one can examine the appropriated characteristics from marching movement to the chorus line. Similarities in *design* are perhaps the easiest characteristics to identify. The first design element is the straight line. Usually seen with the dancers facing straight out to the audience and standing, the same straight line can be achieved in other positions (Figure 29). Likewise, the straight line in marching is found within the rows and columns of a formation (see Figure 13 in Chapter II). When either a formation or a chorus line travels, correct positioning and

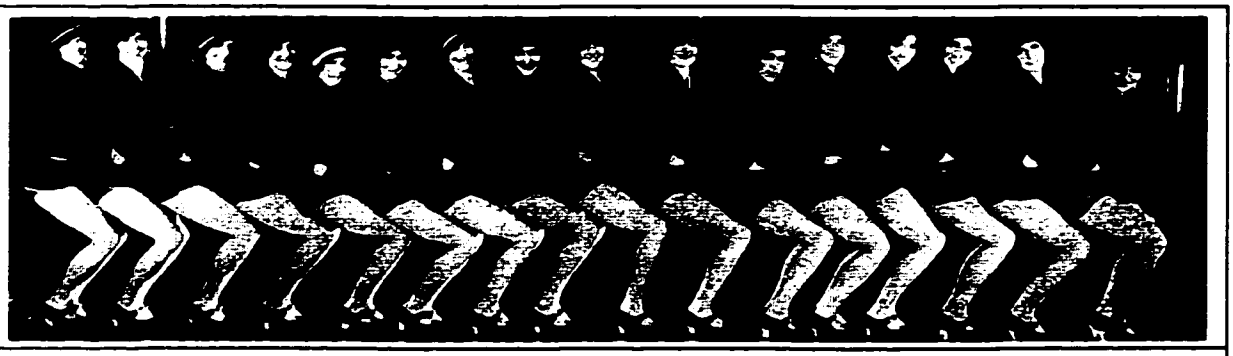


Figure 29. Precision Line from King of Jazz. Kobal, Gotta Sing Gotta Dance (London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1970) 310.

spacing of one body in relation to the next must be maintained. This creates a route of movement that is linear and angular. A path that is carved from traveling to point A to point B would be identical for both groups if given the same directional instructions. The second most recognizable shared design element is symmetry. Symmetry is achieved both when individual bodies are placed side by side and when the bodies create one mass-moving arrangement. The bodies of individuals and of the group look stable, secure and proportional. Because no two individuals are identical, formations use a couple of tricks to make soldiers and chorus line dancers appear the same. One such trick is in costuming. Wearing identical clothing helps to mask differences, and articles of clothing such as hats can hide distinguishing features. Another trick is the placement of the bodies by height. In a formation, the shortest bodies are in the first columns of each row. The rows and columns are filled in by the next tallest in ascending order. In a chorus line, the tallest dancers are in the center, and the line is filled from the center out by height in a descending order. The gradual changes in height are less detectable this way, and when the members are seen as a group, they have attained the appearance of height uniformity.

The next element of dance, *dynamics*, for a chorus line and a marching formation are analogous and achieved by the same means: brisk isolation of body parts. As started in the cancan, the displayed kicking legs of the female dancers is the trademark movement of the dance line. The ability to raise this large body part off the floor and upward requires the leg to move sharply and in isolation from the trunk of the body. In dance terminology, the word "kick" comes from the French word "battement" which means to beat. For the full effect of this "beating" movement to be realized, the leg must move independently from the rest of the body while the upper body remains calm and erect (Figure 30). Keeping the upper body still requires a great deal of strength because as the leg moves upward the body will want to respond to the laws of gravity and physics and shrink downward. High kicks disrupt the flow of movement and literally and figuratively stick out from the other movements in chorus-line dancing. The kicking legs are an exaggeration of the dynamic movements found in marching. The quick and small isolations of head, arm and hand movements seen in marching equally catch the viewers eye. If one focuses on the legs, marching movement looks smooth and almost sustained. But when the rest of the body moves through the

Figure 30. Early cancan dancers show off their flexibility and isolation. Price, Can-Can! (London: Cygnus Arts, 1998) 54.

various movements of halted positions or rifle inspections, for example, the sharp isolations are more like pistol shots and less like the dreamy motion as described by Humphrey.

Rhythm, the third element, which moves chorus lines and formations matches Humphrey's definition of "propelling mechanism." The propelling mechanism is defined by legs moving in space and of feet lifting and landing. This rhythm is even and is accented only for brief moments by the above described dynamics. In the cancan, music gradually speeds up causing the dancers to move faster and faster until they end in a frenzied "gallop" (Price 26). By observation, the American chorus line maintains a steady rhythm and creates a finale crescendo not by speeding up the movement but rather by using sharper contrasts in dynamics. This contrast of opposing accented dynamics against an even and steady rhythm can also be found in marching movement. The manual FM 22-5 Drill and Ceremonies regulates standard marching tempo to 120 beats per minute. Slower marches are authorized (as detailed in a military funeral) but tempos within a standard or funeral march remain constant. It is the dynamic changes within the continuous rhythm of both types of movement that create an illusion that tempo is accelerating and decelerating.

Finally, there is *motivation*. Chorus lines and public marching performances exist to entertain audiences. While chorus lines came from a dance form that had roots in shocking the public, and marching performances came from a functional form that had no audience in mind, both are part of our common culture. Simply, they continue to excite us. Even if the reasons are not completely understood, it is important to pursue the

exposure of this mass appeal. The legacy of chorus-line dancing rests with the immense popularity of this country's highest rated precision dance group: the Rockettes.

The gold standard of precision line dancing: The Radio City Music Hall Rockettes

"All you had to do was kick and you'd get applause." Maxine Schmidt

It is hard to ignore the power of 36 pairs of legs kicking in synchronized rhythm, especially when they have overshadowed any other show in New York. In 1993, "Radio City Christmas Spectacular" grossed $35.5 million—earning more than any other Broadway show that year (Barker a01). Today, the appeal has not declined but instead has grown as the Christmas show travels to sold-out audiences throughout America; not bad for an act that started more than seventy years earlier in Missouri. The Missouri Rockets, as they were known then, debuted in 1925 and were the predecessor of the Radio City Music Hall Rockettes of today. Schmidt, quoted above, was an original member. The Missouri Rockets were America's answer to the London precision dance company, the Tiller Girls. Europeans in the early 1920s were flocking to stadiums to see this precision dance team perform high-energy, jazzy combinations of synchronized kicks and tap dance (Newmark D4). The phenomenon of the group's popularity eventually found a spot in the entrepreneurial mind of Russell Markert. Markert, one of the most influential Broadway producers of his time, will always be remembered for creating and directing the Rockettes. Markert was impressed with the Tiller Girls, yet he wanted to produce something more eyepopping:

> I had seen the John Tiller Girls in the *Ziegfeld Follies* of 1922. And I thought to myself, if I can ever get a chance to get a group of American girls who would be taller and have longer legs, and could do really

> complicated tap routines and eye-high kicks instead of just simple buck and wing and little waist-high kicks . . . that would be one of the things I'd really like to do in the future. (Francisco 48)

Markert's Rockets became the "Roxyettes" (after a brief affiliation with S.L. "Roxy" Rothafel and his theater of the same name) then finally settled on their current title and home at Radio City Music Hall in 1933 (Francisco 50). Now, there are more than 200 Rockettes in a rotating pool of dancers that perform in Las Vegas, Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, Branson, MO, Myrtle Beach, S.C., and of course New York City (Fisher 8).

"Radio City Christmas Spectacular" is the flagship production for the Rockettes in the 1990s. The idea to bring the New York show to more U.S. cities could have been inspired by the huge success of "Riverdance." As one *Los Angeles Times* writer quipped, "The franchising operation began in 1994, when someone must have realized that precision Irish dancers weren't the only act that could successfully be taken on the road" (Fisher 8). The holiday spectacular (and it is a spectacular with its stable full of live animals, Santa and elves, ice skaters, and a dancing/singing chorus) will have entertained more than one million people who attended one of the 193 shows (Barker a01). With so much happening on one stage, it would seem a kick-line could be lost in the commotion: not so. Rockette lore declares that applause invariably starts between the eighth and twelfth kick of the 16-count high-kick-line (Fisher 8). Audiences appreciate the precision of the kicking in the same manner as they appreciate precision marching. Dance critic Edwin Denby writes that the experience has, "a very pleasant moment of contentment all around, because everyone can see that they accomplish what they set out to do to perfection" (qtd. in Fisher 8).

The military's influence on the Rockettes

There is more "military" in the Rockettes than straight lines.

One of the most thrilling illustrations of perfection and precision can actually be seen when the Rockettes are falling down. "Parade of the Wooden Soldiers" is a remarkable display of precision and courage. Each dancer, outfitted in a toy soldier costume, stands in one long file facing a cannon. A puff of smoke expels from the cannon, and as the imaginary cannonball makes it way toward the file, each "soldier" reacts by falling backwards. They tumble one on top of the next like perfect human dominos (Figure 31). This performance piece, specifically the fall, is rehearsed more than any other. It takes many, many tries before each dancer trusts the one behind her to catch her. It takes additional rehearsals to work out the timing so the effect appears effortless. In the falling segment, and throughout the entire dance, the choreography mimics the movements of wind-up dolls. Oskar Schlemmer would appreciate the human/machine like quality of the movements. The mechanized movements, the costuming and the file formation all pattern militaristic qualities. The role playing of toy soldier, however, is not the only military connection to the Rockettes.

The present influence of military style actually started before the Rockettes were the Rockettes. Their predecessor, the Rockets found a fan in ex-Marine sergeant Samuel Rothafel. Being a former Marine, Rothafel must have appreciated the physical demands and discipline associated with high kick-lines. He was not the only one. When Rothafel bought and produced them in 1932 at the Roxy, the chorus line's popularity sky-rocketed (Fisher 8). Moreover, the military-like presence and precision of the chorus line found its

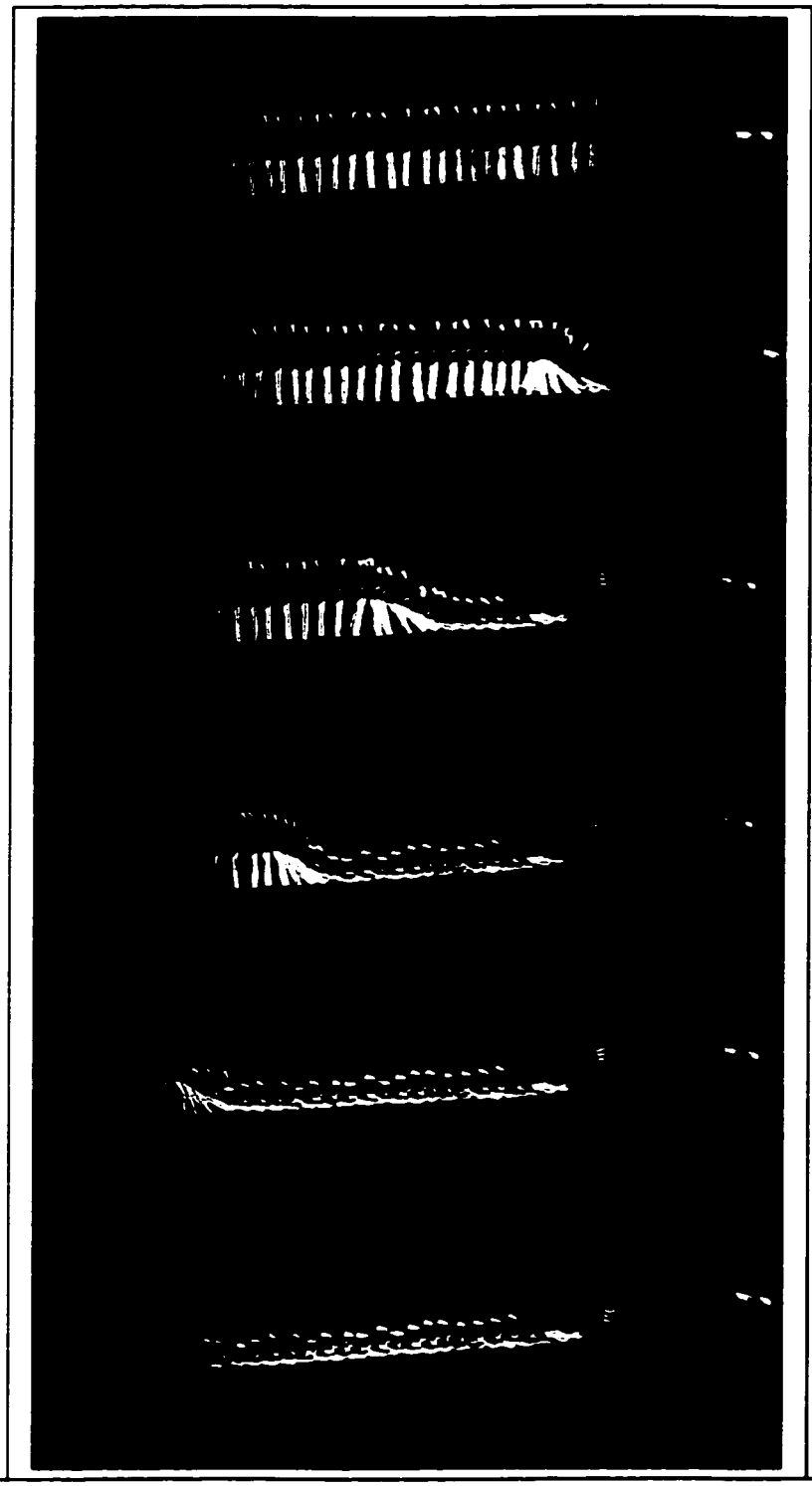


Figure 31. Frame by frame action of the Rockettes "falling" in "Parade of the Wooden Soldiers." Francisco, The Radio City Music Hall: An Affectionate History of the World's Greatest Theater (Toronto: Clark, Irwin & Company Limited, 1979) 57.

way into the set design. The hydraulic system that moves the many on-stage elevators was studied by the military and copied for use on aircraft carriers. Radio City rumor has it that during World War II government agents were stationed at the music hall to keep this technology out of enemy's hands (Barker a01). Even today, reviews of the performances are peppered with phrases like "military-style precision," "Army of Legs Signals Season," and "an entertainment army." The audition screening process mirrors that of the Army's Old Guard with respect to height requirements: Rockettes must be between 5-foot-5 1/2 and 5-foot-9; female Old Guard soldiers must be between 5-foot-8 and 6-foot-2. Last and perhaps the most endearing similarity is the use of *jargon* amongst its members. In drill we say "cover down" and "guide right" to keep the formation tight; the Rockettes use phrases like "digging a hole" and "shifting out" for lining up purposes.

In this era when the individual is demographically heralded by niche advertising and marketing, it might be surprising that an entertainment form founded in sameness would be so successful. Audiences love what they see in marching or marching appropriated shows; dancers and performance marchers love what they do. When asked if dancing with the Rockettes ever made her feel like breaking out of the cookie-cutter aesthetic, Rockette Ann Miller replies:

> You don't feel like doing that when you're a Rockette—that's not what it's about. The whole theme is that everyone looks exactly alike, and I guess that's part of the art—taking 18 women who are very different, who have their own look and size and smile, and making them into one unit. You don't want to project yourself; you want to be part of the whole and make the whole shine as much as you can. That's what it's about. (qtd. in Fisher 8)

Miller's pledge for solidarity and uniformity would make any Drill Sergeant proud. But just as marching platoons in D&C competitions try to stand-out positively from their peers, one wonders if Rockette dancers secretly hope to be picked out in performance. For instance if the dancers really did not care about being singled out, why do they tell family and friends what number from the right or left they are positioned? The photo in Figure 32 reveals that not everyone actually kicks at the same height as prescribed by Rockette rules. As a dancer, I know that a decisive indicator of superior dance skill can be displayed by how high one can kick. Are these Rockettes in the photo secretly trying to one-up each other?

It may be impossible to fully articulate the universal appeal of the Rockettes. The ubiquitous use of kicks and the never-failing arousal of applause for the kick-line, however, have become the legacy of the Rockettes. As a common experience, an American would have as easy a time conjuring a mental picture of a kicking chorus line as he would of a marching formation. The pervasiveness of these images have ebbed into our common experiences and culture.

Appropriation of marching movement in popular dances

Don't tell my " Achy Breaky Heart " that its form and movement may have started on a parade field. As with chorus lines, popular line dances have roots in marching movement.

There is a social dance craze in this country that exploded in the late 1970s and continues to dominate dance clubs through the end of the century. Popularized by the movie Saturday Night Fever (1977), line dancing exploded into bars, clubs and recreation

Figure 32. Dancers displaying kicks of individuality. Francisco, The Radio City Music Hall: An Affectionate History of the World's Greatest Theater (Toronto: Clark, Irwin & Company Limited, 1979) 103.

centers across America. Dance professor Ollie Mae Ray acknowledges the immense popularity of this social dance form, "Today's line dances incorporate many musical styles—from country to rock to rap—and are particularly popular among singles and seniors because they're performed solo, but are extremely sociable" (qtd. in Krucoff 24). Social dancing and line dancing have been around since the time of primitive tribes. Dance scholar Curt Sachs reports, "The dance in which the men form one row, the women the other and dance opposite each other in a form of love play, is widely diffused and may be confidently assigned to a Protoneolithic culture level" (qtd. in Nevell 15). While bits of "love play" undoubtedly still exist on today's dance floor, an attraction for the participant is feeling like an individual within the safety of a group. It is a common phenomenon to see the dance floor fill with previously sitting patrons when a designated line dance song plays. People too shy to ask someone out to the dance floor are not too shy to strut their stuff within a group.

Many dances share their name with the song they accompany—"The Electric Slide," "La Macarena," and the "Achy Breaky Heart." Each dance is unique and is distinguishable to the participants. Line dances to disco music may have dominated the 1970s with dances such as "The Hustle," but the limelight now belongs to country line dances. Country music clubs regularly offer free line dance lessons. A trip to the library offers a plethora of books and video tapes for anyone interested in learning this social dance form. Line Dancing is an instructional book focused solely on country line dancing. Giving guidance on a variety of useful items like proper attire, it lists instructions to over twenty different dances. The dances are arranged based on difficulty

from easy to moderate to intermediate, and with names such as "Alley Cat," "Louisiana Hot Sauce," and "Tush Push," country line dancing has stayed in step with the times. It is intriguing to trace its steps back to possible marching roots.

The fact that virtually anyone can learn to march is true for line dancing as well. The movements in line dancing are less like "dance" steps and are more congruous with altered walking steps. Both forms are enacted in rows and columns of participants. Figure 33 shows various foot and leg positions and the terminology that correspond with the actions. The positions are not difficult, but they do require body part isolation and some practice before they feel natural. Figure 33 also illustrates that the majority of the movement happens from the waist down. The upper body is not held as strictly erect as in marching, but the definite placement of the arms and hands resembles accuracy in placement as with marching movement. When individuals enter the dance floor at the beginning of a recognized line dance song, they appropriate the same line and column formation as marchers. And just as marching formations have a leader, many times one or two line dancers will place themselves in front of the group. On long road marches, the formation leader will "call cadence." Familiar lyrics quasi-sung in rhythm to the march are called out by the leader while the formation either repeats back parts of the phrase or answers with an appropriate predetermined lyric. This call and answer technique keeps morale up and creates cohesion in the formation. Country dances like the "Cotton Eyed Joe" feature a sort of cadence call and answer from their dancers. The lyrics are shouted out by some members, and the other members nosily and occasionally with profanity (not

GLOSSARY

21a

21b

21. KNEE ROLLS: Lift your heel then make a circular motion with the knee. (Two counts)

22. PIGEON TOES: Also known as buttermilks and split heels, it's a familiar movement. With body weight on the balls of your feet, spread your heels apart and then bring them back together. (Two counts)

23. POINT TO THE SIDE: A self-explanatory movement, point your toe to the side then return to a standing position. (Two counts)

Figure 33. Country line instructors demonstrate foot and leg positions. Fernandez and Farrington, Line Dancing (London: Promotional Reprint Company Ltd., 1997) 24.

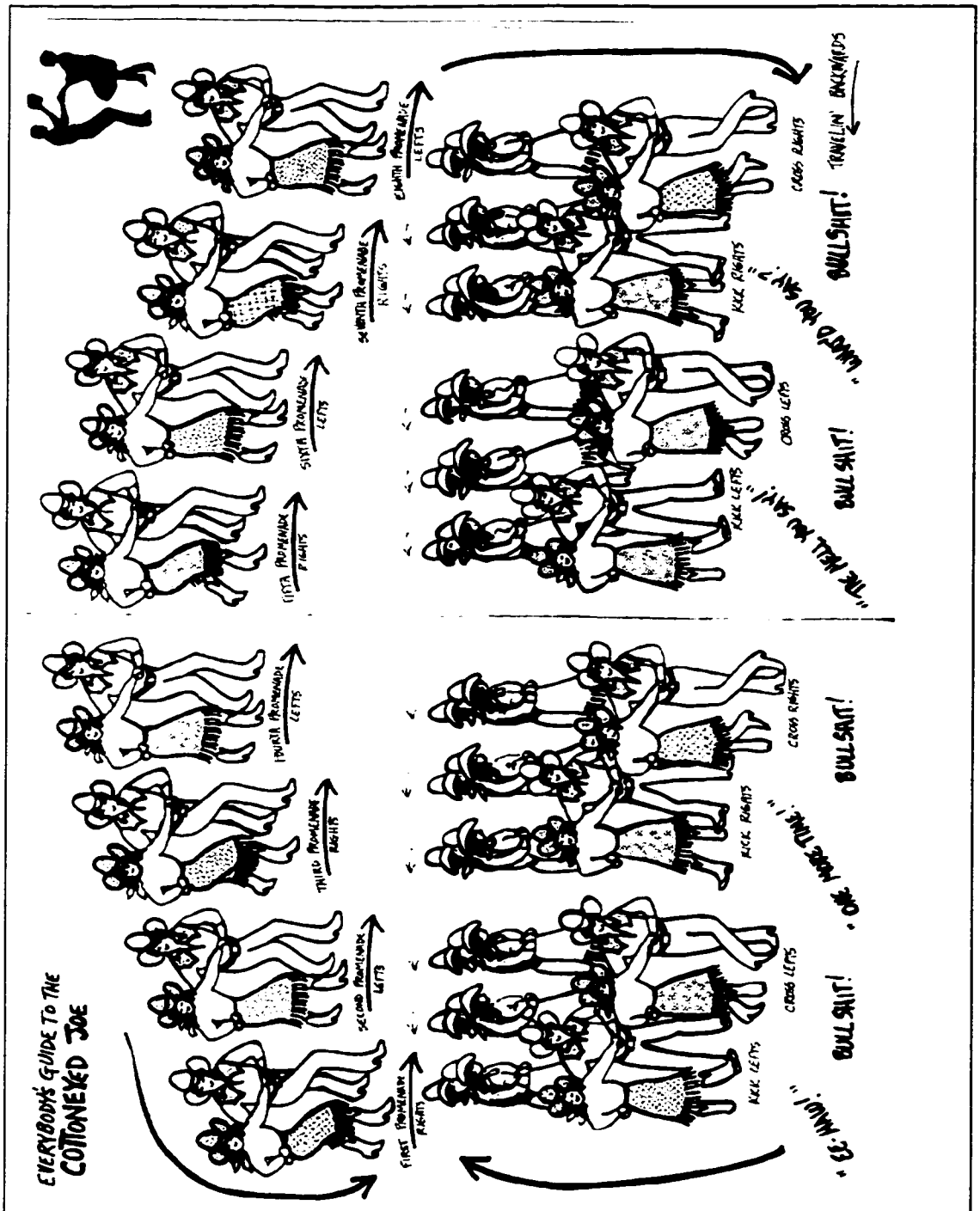


Figure 34. "The CottonEyed Joe" is a line dance that incorporates call and answer lyrics. Nevell, A Time to Dance: American Country Dancing From Hornpipes to Hot Hash (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977) 230.

unlike military cadences) call out a response (Figure 34). Lastly, the sensation of feeling like an individual within a group is eminent in line dancing and marching. I still believe that my personal effort in a formation makes that formation unique. Similarly, when I watch people performing line dances, I sense they are expressing a part of themselves in a way they either cannot or do not in any other venue. Noted historian, William McNeill has stated that patterns of marching movement have existed in human culture for thousands of years. If this is true, and if one accepts the diversity of forms it can be appropriated into, marching's influence as a movement source might have traveled further into other corners of performance. The first chapter of this thesis borrowed modern dance theory and terminology to define marching movement. Can the relationship between marching movement and modern dance be synergistic?

Post-modern performance and marching movement—unlikely allies

Modern choreographers, particularly post-modern choreographers and performance artists, have profited by deconstructing the fundamentals of marching movement and incorporating the results into their pieces.

Post-modern practitioners are responsible for finding the significance in movements most others ignored. Responding to the anti-art movement of visual artists, they blur and cross the lines separating the roles of dancer/choreographer/performer. Post-modern is an era of natural movement, chance technique and the subconscious. Heidi Gilpin in "Static and Uncertain Bodies: Absence and Instability in Movement Performance" points out that the ideas of absence and negation, of what we do not know,

offer possibilities in performance that enable different perspectives, other visions, and other movements. Gilpin writes:

> Moving is an art of becoming. But the process of becoming is a constantly shifting, goal-less experience. The traditional notion of movement, of dance, is that there is a moving toward something, and that that something is fixed. And yet . . .this movement, this system of gestures, this dance keeps discovering that there is "no" something, that the something is not fixed, but keeps changing, keeps moving. Dance finds stillness the way language finds silence, the way music finds silence. The music of John Cage, for example, demonstrates this: in its discovery of silence, the music becomes very full. (96)

According to Gilpin, the absence of movement creates a hole or a failure of movement. In dance, it equates to brief-to-long movements of stillness (Gilpin 95). Post-modern artists have explored this concept of "failure" from movements derived from common human events and experiences. Reaching, sitting, standing, and walking are all functional movements, but the logical progression where one movement follows another creates a space between each in which lies the hole, the stillness, the failure. Artists have worked with these common movements—including the resulting created failure—from a variety of angles. Two artists in particular, Trisha Brown and Pina Bausch, have created choreographed performance pieces that explore failure and stillness through movement related to marching. While marching movement—as it is recognized by its performance code—is not obviously performed in the dances, the principles governing marching movement and their opposing counterparts are. The supporting and the opposing principles of marching probably were not part of the contrived intentions of the artists. In fact, neither Brown nor Bausch mention marching movement in their own discussions or

analyses. But closer examinations into their compositions and personal interpretations reveal that principles associated with marching shaped their design and choreography.

Trisha Brown: turning ordinary movement inside-out

Specific examples of appropriation of marching movement by post-modern choreographers are offered and discussed.

Born in Aberdeen, Washington, Trisha Brown refers to her childhood pastimes as normal—tree climbing and football playing. Her first dance teacher, "organized my bony knees and adolescent mind through tap, ballet and acrobatics which developed into jazz routines in high school assemblies" (Banes 77). Brown studied modern dance at Mills College and later went on to work with modern dance legends Jose Limon, Louis Horst and Merce Cunningham. But Brown did not find her own place in dance until she attended workshops in 1960 with Anna Halprin, a west coast teacher and choreographer investigating improvisational movement. By the 1970s, Brown had her own studio and her own pedestrian-like (as in the way a human walks) style of choreography (Figure 35).

Brown's work has been described as taking ordinary movement and placing it in extraordinary circumstances. For instance, Walking on the Wall (1971) is an indoor piece created on the walls of the Whitney Museum. Aided by ropes and mountain-climbing gear, dancers walk up and down, forward and backward on the sides of the building while maintaining perfect walking posture. It is a physical feat of strength, body awareness and adaptation to keep the illusion of strolling with ease. For the spectator, there is the sensation that one is on a tall building, watching people on the sidewalk below. When they turn a corner, one feels he is positioned sideways seeing an upright person rather

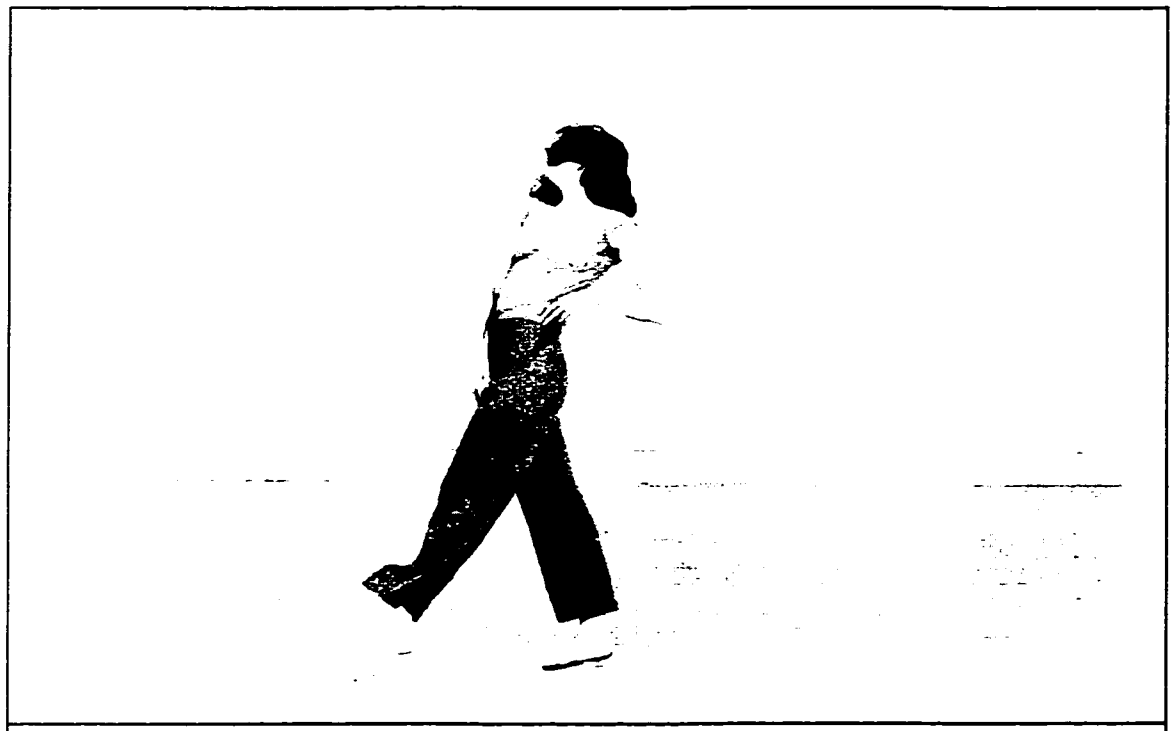


Figure 35. Trisha Brown demonstrates the pedestrian look of her dances. Banes, Terpichore in Sneakers: Post-Modern Dance (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997) 77.

than the reality of the dancer walking sideways while the spectator is standing upright (Banes 80-81). Brown designed the piece as a means of pitting the illusion of natural movement against the forces of weight and gravity. Weight and gravity provide the pitfalls and ultimately the failure of the movement for the untrained or unconditioned. Walking on the Wall takes a natural movement (walking), places it in an unnatural setting (alongside walls), and makes it appear natural. Similarly, marching starts with the same natural movement, stylizes it (through changes in the body's use of weight and rhythm) and creates a new movement that appears natural. According to Brown, all movement becomes available for choreographing. This includes the use of all types of people in her dances, not just the classically trained. "There is a certain look or personality of trained dancers of traditional schools. They train for alikeness, a certain conformity. It was

interesting to have people of different personalities and posture and looks about them on stage" (Banes 170).

Brown's method of choosing her dancers is completely contrary to a Drill Sergeant's instruction in training marchers, and her departure from sameness would be considered a failure by Army standards. So how is it that marching has had an influence on Brown's work? The answer lies not in the direct appropriation of marching movement but in the manipulation of the perceived elements of the movement. Brown is inspired by the possibilities of working with what she sees as conceived "conformity." Brown is not only investigating conceived conformity in the dance world but in the common, cultural world as well. In the common world, marching is perceived as an example of conformity. Furthermore, marching and its various representations, imitations and appropriations are pervasively present in our streets, in our films and on our stages. If Brown (who bases her choreography on common movement) needed source material for her investigation of ordinary and conforming movements, she would only need to look no further than at the cultural world she lives in. It is not inconceivable that Trisha Brown has been influenced by a common human experience like marching.

This possibility becomes even more evident in compositions like Drift and Figure 8 both choreographed in 1974. In Drift, five dancers line up shoulder to shoulder facing the audience at the opposite end of the room. The dancers advance slowly and deliberately. While walking forward, they move their feet a fraction of an inch to the right. The tiny drift in course is undetected by the audience until the end of the piece when it becomes apparent (from the spectator's point of view) that the dancers are much

further to the left than whence they came. The line formed by the dancers' bodies resembles marchers in a formation. The synchronicity and deliberateness of the steps further reinforces a marching-like image. Likewise, Figure 8 places dancers in a single file facing the audience. With their eyes closed and ears poised to the ticks of a metronome, they perform simple and repetitious arms movements according to an eight-count measure (Figure 36). Each dancer raises and lowers her arm on her own count.

Figure 36. Dancers rehearse Figure 8. Banes, Terpichore in Sneakers: Post-Modern Dance (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997) 91.

Sometimes the arms appear to be in unison and at other times in counterpoint. The visual effects are similar to the physical effects of marching in formation: "The regularity of the rhythm and the repetition create a hypnotic fascination for the spectator. This is edged

with a pleasurable suspense, because each dancer's sense of timing and the tiny variations which result contrast with the utter precision of the material tend to push the movement slightly in and out of synchronization" (Banes 88). If the ticking of the metronome is replaced with the sound of boots striking the ground, and if the ascending and descending arms are switched to a forward and backward swinging motion, the dancers would be marching. In appropriation, the initial movement is deconstructed and reapplied to create something new and different. In dance, this requires not only comprehending what the initial movement is but also understanding the principles that govern that movement. Trisha Brown understands the impact of gravity, weight and body position when it comes to walking. In other common movements, she plays with the ideas of perceived and conceived conformity. Finding what is inside, in between and underneath a movement has been the role of the post-modern artist. Revealing what is usually unseen is found in the art of Pina Bausch.

Pina Bausch: studies of kinetic action from emotional failures

Using the familiar to illustrate the unseen: a further discussion of failure and expression in common experiences.

Pina Bausch, the German director and choreographer of the Tanztheater Wuppertal confronts her audiences with, "works seeming chaos, despair and significant—some would say, inappropriate—amounts of often devastating emotional expression" (Gilpin 97). Bausch's material sources stem from failures: societal failures, interpersonal relationship failures, and structurally coherent narrative failures (Gilpin 97). Her dance concerts are multi-media marathon events that can last hours. There is always the

question of who is more exhausted at the end, the dance corps or the audience. The rehearsal and choreographic techniques Bausch employs are unconventional and based on failure.

Like Trisha Brown, Pina Bausch manipulates seemingly ordinary movement. The difference is that where Brown chooses functional movement for material, Bausch relies on kinesthetic reactions to emotional responses. In rehearsals, she asks the dancers questions, and poses problems and issues that focus on human emotions like love, pride, hate, boredom, pain, joy and sadness. The dancers respond through improvisational movement to express that feeling or type of behavior. Bausch pushes them to dig deeper into their own personal memories to come to a very raw and kinesthetic expression of emotion. Bausch is not interested in what *makes* one laugh or cry; she wants to see *how* one laughs or cries. What gestures are involved? What sounds come from the voice and body? From the physical reactions she sees and hears from the dancers, Bausch cuts, pastes and repeats the segments to form the overall structure of a performance.

A Pina Bausch production is an open dramaturgy (Gilpin 97). The performers have no assigned roles and move in and out of dance/movement sequences in a non-linear and non-narrative structure. The audience sees the movements but not the sources. This leaves open spaces in which to speculate and interpret. Physical actions of laughter separated from its source looks different to a spectator when that spectator does not comprehend a meaning behind the movement. For Bausch, this compositional strategy of elimination, of making invisible the engendering material in order to force the extra-visibility of the resulting material, allows for a constant shifting of spaces between

movements (Gilpin 98). In an interpretive sense, there is failure for the spectator. The spectator sees disjointed and alienated movement that registers as something familiar but vague. Without the narrative source behind it, common and natural movements look new and unexpected. This does not mean the audience sees nothing familiar. Somehow, there is an unexplainable recognition. Marching movement interacts with the senses in a similar fashion. Audiences watch marching performances and see something they enjoy but cannot fully comprehend. Marching performers enjoy unexplainable feelings of camaraderie and well-being. Film makers and choreographers use marching movement to express a point of view without realizing all they are saying. The movement shifts in and out of the rational comprehension and understanding of anyone who comes in contact with it. Pina Bausch does not try to explain a movement; she is interested in exposing the aesthetic and kinesthetic properties released from a movement. She proves that even though a movement might be perceived as conventional, the experiences derived from it are not. As a dancer and choreographer myself, I consciously respond to Bausch's deconstruction of common movement. Her theories and practices in deconstruction have enabled me to look at and present marching movement in a new light. While I have no direct proof that Bausch appropriates marching movement in her work, one of her signature choreographing tools is one of marching's signature elements.

The technique Bausch uses most to expose a movement's underbelly is *repetition.* Just as disjointed actions create unexpected results, repetition reveals previously unnoticed movements. Cafe Muller (premiered in 1985) is recognized as "classic" repetition in the Bauschian sense:

> At one point a man and a woman stand facing each other, a second man approaches and very slowly places the couple's arms around each other as in a hug, lifts the woman and places her in the first man's arms, walks away, and when the first man has, out of unconsciousness and perhaps an absence of the will to participate in reality, let the woman slide out his arms to the ground with a loud thump, the woman, in her only active moment, gets up and throws her arms around him, and the second man comes stomping back to begin the sequence again. With each subsequent repetition of this sequence, there is a slight increase in the speed of the actions, so that the phrase seems to run the gamut of emotional qualities from tenderness to violence, until finally, the two perform the repetitions of the phrase (in a seemingly frantic manner due to the speed of their movements) **without** the help of the second man at all. (Gilpin 98)

The repetition of the sequence produces different looks just as copies from an original photo changes its image. Bausch demonstrates that even though duplicating movements should leave the original intact, repetition destroys its one-dimensionality and offers up multiple shifts in emotional quality (Gilpin 99). As such, marching Drill and Ceremony competitions are performed using the same movements but with different results. The difference in results is disclosed by the declaration of a winner in the competition. The judges of these competitions must see holes and failures throughout the movements to be able to determine differences among the competitors. Pina Bausch shows her audiences the same distortions of duplicated movements in her productions. As previously mentioned, there is no hard evidence that Trisha Brown and Pina Bausch purposely incorporated the elements of marching movement into their compositions, but the above analyses have shown the possibility of such an appropriation. This becomes especially compelling because so much of their works are drawn from the common human experiences of which marching, in its multi-media venues, has become.

Conclusion

The study of the appropriation of marching movement into popular forms of entertainment and recreation reveals that marching movement appears in numerous and unexpected manifestations. Rather than trying to catalogue every instance I came across, I wanted to highlight a few of the more interesting examples of appropriation. The idea to focus on the chorus-line came from a professor who remarked (without the benefit of reading the Rockette source material included above) that an audience inevitably applauds a kick-line in performance. Another indicator that studies into popular culture is a worthy area of research comes again from my personal experiences with marching movement. The idea of looking at post-modern performances and performers happened by chance. I saw a Pina Bausch concert in California long before this project took form. I did not fully realize it at the time, but on some subconscious level I related to her use of ordinary movements in her choreography. The dominant use of gesture and repetition opened my eyes to viewing common moves in a new way. The many levels and types of expression employed through the movement were breathtaking. Studying the motivation behind the works of Pina Bausch lead me to the choreography of Trisha Brown. Brown's pedestrian-like motifs in her dances immediately registered as being analogous to marching movement. I am certain there are many more avenues of appropriation to explore, and it is exciting that the exploration does not have to end here.

CHAPTER VI

FINAL THOUGHTS

Like other cultural phenomena, establishing laws of cause and effect for movement is neither probable nor advisable. What is of interest in the study of structured movement systems is the description and interpretation of the cultures which they stimulate. By looking at different dance forms, sport, theater, or everyday movement patterns as cultural realities whose kinesthetic and structural properties have meaning, possibilities emerge for articulating and clarifying our experiences of who we are, and others, are. (Novack 117)

Marching performances of the past continue to be a cultural phenomenon today. As a society, we actively attend and encourage these performances. The emotional pleasures experienced from moving rhythmically have seeped down and deep into our psyches. We know that the aesthetic charm of watching and moving the human body in steady beats dates back to our earliest ancestors. When the human body is captured stationary as in a statue, painting or photo, it becomes an artifact beholden. This artifact is an object separated from us. But when the body is put into kinesthetic action, the movement not only draws our attention, it also draws us into a collective and shared experience. Understanding how movement becomes the thread that connects and surrounds all participants is achieved only when the movement, itself, is understood. It is not enough to discuss movement in the terms of what it does, movement must first be defined as to what it is.

Military marching has a definable performance code. It is possible to assign devices and characteristics to the movement that are not dependent on any specific cultural or performance context. The performance code of marching movement introduced here is dedicated to the this principle of looking beyond perceived cultural or performance biases. Whether performed on a field or stage with one or one-hundred bodies, the codified movement will be recognized as marching, specifically functional marching. However, something interesting happens when marching movement transforms from a means of function to a mode of performance.

As a "structured movement system," military marching becomes a stabilizing factor within its own culture. Because a military culture is both highly regulated and extremely vulnerable to drastic disruptions (deployments, injuries and death), there are so called "Standard Operating Procedures" (SOPs) at every level of command. Although readily prevalent, marching is an SOP that is underrated as a motivational tool and a public relations platform. Civilians have entered into the armed forces *solely* because of their desire to perform in marching presentations in one of the elite military units. This is incredible when one considers the immense personal sacrifices a new recruit will face. We know that this new recruit must pass a stringent audition and undergo rigorous training. But what is not usually appreciated is the hardship the soldier faces by being stationed away from his or her family and the low pay received. Most of the marching performers in "Fleet Week" and Hope and Glory were ranked from private to specialist. If the meager monthly salary of one of these soldiers were divided by the actual duty hours performed, the hourly rate would fall below a minimum wage. Nevertheless, these young military marchers express pride and honor, not distress or indignation.

As a live event, marching reaches only a fraction of a targeted population. But through clever media portrayals, marching performances have migrated beyond the

limited-access stages of live performance into various venues with larger audiences. In these portrayals, marching acquires narrative values that connect and raise the human spirit. The exchange of potent interactions between performer and spectator may be powerful in a live format, but these interactions are difficult to control and predetermine. Creative uses of technology allow marching performances to be designed precisely before they are presented to large audiences. The toe-tapping, finger-snapping representations in musical comedy film practically transform marching into a new dance form. Songs like "Yankee Doodle Dandy" stay imbedded in the brain when incorporated with marching choreography. A full spectrum of narrative values are illustrated through marching movement from deliriously patriotic notions to dangerously realistic war themes. Whether through documentary styled dramas, giddy musical films or propaganda theme movies, marching movement plays a significant role in shaping the spectator's interpretation.

And finally, as marching movement becomes fully integrated into our popular culture, new forms of entertainment and recreation emerge. The commercial success of the Rockettes and the lasting impression of line dances secure this movement's acceptance for generations to come. The foothold marching has in our society is sure. Another way to interpret the popularity strength of marching movement is to appreciate that these trendy forms rooted in marching have not diminished the attendance at military marching events. The analysis of marching movement would not be complete without giving some thought to the ramifications such a movement imposes on a society. This work, however, does not address the totality of these effects. While it has been the intent of this author to approach the work from a performance studies point of view, there is always room for different analyses from different perspectives.

One position in cultural analyses is that mass displays of uniformed and patterned movements create conditions that subvert a society. In his Essay, "The Mass Ornament," social critic and scholar Siegfried Kracauer associates the rhythmic, geometrical formations made by the Tiller Girls with the creation of an ornamental mass that conveys subversive messages: "These ornaments appear as a magic force so laden with meaning that they cannot be reduced to a purely linear structure" (146). According to Kracauer, the structure of the mass ornament reflects the general contemporary situation and prevailing economic system—the legs of the Tiller Girls correspond to the hands of the factory worker. Kracauer asserts that the factory workers are the victims of the capitalist production process that destroys any natural organism it regards as a force of resistance:

> Personality and national community perish when calculability is demanded; only as a tiny particle of the mass can the individual human being effortlessly clamber up charts and service machines. A system which is indifferent to variations of form leads necessarily to the obliteration of national characteristics and the fabrication of masses of workers who can be employed and used uniformly throughout the world. (147)

"The Mass Ornament" continues using examples from mythology and history to denounce the capitalist's structured society. Although Kracauer associates rhythmic and geometrical formations and movements with the destruction of individual personality, he does acknowledge the form's aesthetic value, "I would argue that the aesthetic pleasure gained from the ornamental mass movements is legitimate" (148).

Kracauer's "aesthetic pleasure" relates directly to the heart of this thesis. As stated in the Introduction, it is the emotional charge I feel as both spectator and participant from marching movement that inspired this work. William McNeill and

Siegfried Kracauer have added important theories to the analyses of marching movement—even if their personal reactions to the movement obviously clash. The dominating conclusion is that marching movement not only moves troops and formations it also moves us as a culture, a society and as individuals. Let us consider one more marching performance.

The following description is taken from a video taped performance of The United States Army Drill Team (a unit in The Old Guard). The profile of sixteen soldiers *march* into the performance space from right to left (as seen by the spectator). Each soldier carries a 1903 Springfield Rifle that is 40 inches long and weighs 10.5 pounds. Attached on the end of the rifles are chrome plated bayonets. The formation executes a *mark time march* to stop the forward movement. On a silent count, each simultaneously executes a *left face*. Facing straight forward, the first group of eight soldiers do a *right face* while the second group of eight do a *left face*. As both groups march forward and away from each other, again only their profiles are visible. On another silent count, both groups perform a *rear march*. As the groups continue marching forward, they meet in the center of the space. The spectator can see four columns of soldiers four men deep. On the next cue the first man in each column marches in place while those behind him *march* forward. Each column rotates around and to the right of its leading man until all sixteen men form one long line. While a soldier is traveling and marching in *mark time*, he is also constantly maneuvering his rifle in and out of different positions. Sometimes his arm purposefully strikes the side of his leg with a resounding "smack," and other times

the rifle butt hits the ground with a clackety "thud." Throughout all the positions, he looks calm and poised but never bored.

Once all sixteen men have formed-up in line, they perform ten different wave-like exercises with their rifles. The first soldier on the end executes the first exercise. The man right next to the first immediately performs the exact same move, and so it goes on down the line until the wave of movement reaches the last man. The last man performs the movement and then follows it with a different one. The new move is passed back up the line until it reaches the first soldier again. According to Sergeant First Class Marcus Montoya, a former member of an active duty drill team, as an individual, the movements performed by the men in the video are not difficult to master. The challenge is getting everyone to move the same way at the right time.

Out of the sixteen, four soldiers *march* forward and away from the formation. The four soloists perform a series of tricky rifle maneuvers. The rifle is tossed and swung around the body at very fast speeds. Although they are each soloists, the four soldier are also performing together. The D&C performance ends with the entire formation participating in the dangerous and climatic "front-to-rear-rifle-toss." The formation is in its original four rows by four columns design. The front man in each row tosses his weapon up and back in the air. The rifle must travel fifteen feet and complete two revolutions before the rear man in line catches it. The bayonets on the ends of the rifles are real, and they are sharp. If this is not risky enough, seconds before he is about to catch the weapon, each rear man completes one full turn around his whole body while looking down. Each toss and capture of the rifle is successfully achieved, and without

waiting for applause or other recognition, the performance ends as the formation marches out of camera shot.

This performance captures the regal beauty of marching movement. Performed without fanfare and spectacle, the marchers exude a commanding presence. The movement is hypnotic and the spectator is left wanting more. For something so common, marching movement has escaped thorough scrutiny for too long. Do we really know and understand all there is when it comes to the left-right-left execution of footsteps?

CHAPTER VII

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